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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

An Editorial:

It's Up to the States

**To Curb Washington's Power, We
Must Revamp State Government**

The High Cost of Politics

Under an 1818 Cloud

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News of the League

Stage Set for Seattle Meeting

As final preparations for the National Conference on Government, in Seattle July 24 to 28, neared completion, the most successful League meeting in 61 years seemed assured. The Conference will be held in conjunction with the Twentieth Annual Institute of Government of the University of Washington.

Citizen leaders from all parts of the country and foreign dignitaries were making preparations to attend. One of the latter who registered is Yong-Chin Kim, of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Republic of Korea.

Many new participants have been added to the program in the last month, assuring a well-rounded discussion of the many challenging problems on the agenda.

Among the participants (pictured above) and the panels of which they are members are:

Vice Admiral George R. Henderson, USN, retired, consultant to the president and publisher, *San Diego Union* — "Challenge to the Press"; Major General Frederick A. Irving, USA, retired, president, American Committee to Improve Our Neighborhoods — "Telling the Civic Story"; Herbert Emmerich, director, Public Administration Clearing House — "Solving the Metropolitan Puzzle"; Glenn R. Winters, secretary-treasurer, American Judicature Society — "Breaking Legal Log Jams"; and Edward A. Ackerman, of Resources for the Future — "Preserving Our Heritage."

Panel chairmen not previously announced are:

George A. Shipman, University of Washington — "Let Our Governors Govern!" and Charles B. Coates, Executive Vice Chairman, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report — "Telling the Civic Story."

Other recent additions to the program are:

Lloyd E. Graybiel, vice president, American Trust Company, San Francisco, Robert A. Sandberg, Northwest Public Relations Manager, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., Spokane, and William S. Street, president and general manager, Frederick & Nelson, Seattle — "The Business Citizen"; J. Victor Skiff, consultant on natural resources, New York State Assembly — "Preserving Our Heritage"; Giles L. French, editor, *Sherman County Journal*, Moro, Oregon — "How Much Does Your Vote Weigh?"

Also Edwin P. Hoyt, editor and publisher, *Colorado Springs Free Press*, Franklin C. McPeak, public relations director, McClatchy Newspapers, California, and William M. Tugman, publisher, *Port Umpqua Courier*, Reedsport, Oregon — "Challenge to the Press."

Murray Brown, League of California Cities, Mrs. Harlan Edwards, Seattle councilwoman, George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary, Citizens Union, New York, and Stuart A. Corkle, University of Texas — "The People's Choice."

Harry S. Dorman, director, Department of Finance and Administration, Oregon, and John

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The Murray Seasongood Library of the National Municipal League, with Miss Bruna Norsa, librarian, at the shelves.

Library Named for Seasongood

The League's Executive Committee voted unanimously to name the organization's library in honor of Murray Seasongood, first reform mayor of Cincinnati under its present charter and president of the League from 1931 to 1934. Mr. Seasongood is presently a member of the Council of this organization.

Housed on the second floor of the Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, new headquarters of the League, the library consists of a unique collection of books, pamphlets and other materials on national, state and local government. The complete works of Mr. Seasongood, dealing with public affairs, will become a part of the collection.

Alfred Willoughby, League executive director, said the library was named for Mr. Seasongood in recognition of his "great contribution to the improvement of local government and of his long and constructive service to the League."

In addition to its collection of reference works, the Murray Seasongood Library maintains files, which probably

cannot be duplicated elsewhere, on some 200 civic groups throughout the country. In its vertical file there are materials on numerous governmental and civic problems.

It is constantly used by students, researchers, and other visitors from all over the world.

Bebout Speaks in Alabama

John E. Bebout, assistant director of the League, will be a speaker at the convention of the Alabama State Bar Association in Mobile on July 21. He will discuss the question of state constitutional revision, a timely subject in Alabama.

Foreign Visitors

Recent foreign visitors at League headquarters were Gerhard Rumpf, burgermeister of Bremerhaven, Germany; Yehudah Nedivi, town clerk of Tel Aviv, Israel; and P. C. Pandya, of the Bombay (India) Municipal Corporation.

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Editorial Comment

It's Up to the States

AT THE end of June there appeared what may prove to be one of the more important public documents in the history of American government. The document, the report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations,¹ is the result of the first comprehensive official study of the working of our dual system of government by nation and states since the constitution was adopted.

The commission was established in 1953 "to study the role of the federal government in relation to the states and their political subdivisions."² This mandate inevitably led the commission to investigate and appraise state and local governments and to make recommendations for strengthening them.

The commission points out that non-use of state and local authority may be just as great a force for unhealthy centralization as overuse or misuse of national authority, because inaction or inadequate action by states may lead to overwhelming demand for national action. The report, accordingly, devotes a great deal of attention to ways and means of improving state and local governments and state-local relations.

Among the needs stressed by the commission are:

Modernization of state constitutions with the elimination of outmoded limitations and statutory details that often prevent or retard needed action at the state or local level.

¹See page 387.

²Public Law 109, 83rd Congress, Section 1.

Reapportionment of state legislatures so that they are more fairly representative of growing urban communities.

Reorganization of state administration "to provide the governor with the authority as well as with the title of chief executive."

Greater use of interstate cooperation so as to "extend the scope of state action to more matters on which some degree of regional or even nation-wide uniformity is required."

Continuing reorganization and strengthening of local government so that there may be "more local home rule for fewer and stronger local units."

A searching reappraisal by each state "of its fiscal policies, including the constitutional and statutory limitations on its taxation and borrowing activities, the limitations on the fiscal powers of local governments, the system of property tax administration, and the financial aids it is providing its subdivisions."

A comprehensive attack on the metropolitan area problem. The report calls "for an intensive nationwide study of governmental areas with special attention to metropolitan communities" and suggests that this study "should engage the co-operation of national, state and local governments as well as universities, private foundations and civic agencies."

While the commission notes many encouraging examples of self-improvement on the part of state and local governments it sees an urgent need to accelerate and strengthen such efforts. To this end it suggests "a nation-wide examination of the

readiness of the states to discharge greater responsibilities . . . more comprehensive and more searching than any that has attended recent efforts to revise state constitutions, reorganize state administrations, modernize state tax systems, or improve state-local relations." It recognizes the necessity to overcome the tendency of many good citizens who interest themselves in improving the efficiency of the national government to ignore "similar proposals for improving and strengthening state government."

As a means of facilitating state by state action, the commission urges that the states help one another by exchange of plans, studies and experience. It adds that "national organizations both of state and local officials and of citizens could perform important services along these lines and could help state and local groups with tasks in their own states and communities. A voluntary nationwide citizens committee might be organized to facilitate the cooperation of diverse groups and to keep public attention firmly fixed on the ultimate goal."

These suggestions and recommendations present a forceful challenge to state and local officials and to all citizens and citizen organizations concerned with state and local

affairs. This challenge derives special significance from the circumstances leading to the creation of the commission that issued it. One of the chief reasons for the commission was widespread feeling that the national government was taking on too many responsibilities that properly belong to states and their localities and was thus undermining one of the essential principles of the American system of government. The assumption of many was that the cure for any such tendency was to be found mainly in Washington itself.

The commission did recommend greater restraint in undertaking or expanding national activities in fields that might be considered appropriate for state or local action. It also made numerous suggestions for improving and simplifying national-state-local relations and for enhancing the role of the states in cooperative relationships involving the national government. It is clear, however, that the commission felt that such actions would have very limited effectiveness unless the people devoted themselves more energetically than ever to increasing the capacity of their state and local governments to meet the burdens that a changing and highly interdependent society necessarily imposes upon government.

Let's All Pay the Piper

THE article on the high cost of politics by Philip L. Graham, which appears on page 346 of this issue of the REVIEW, develops an idea that has been suggested from time to time in this publication.

Mr. Graham's thesis, in brief, is that the best way to reduce the power of tainted or selfish money in political campaigns is to have everybody get into the act by making

(Continued on page 358)

High Cost of Politics

Undue influence of special interests will be eased if every family makes modest political contribution.

By PHILIP L. GRAHAM*

WE FACE problems that involve life and death for all of us. Yet we insist on having the lowest sort of opinion of the very people we entrust with those problems and we force them to operate under conditions which do everything to repel decent men.

Who are these people who bear this great responsibility and whom we treat so stupidly? They are, of course, the politicians. They include Dwight D. Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, 96 senators, 435 congressmen, 48 governors, the 750,000 other elective officials, and the cabinet officers and tens of thousands of appointive officials and political workers who must live under our existing system of politics.

These are the people whose day-by-day actions will largely determine the greatest conflict in the history of the world. Yet how do we tell them we regard them? We tell them that we consider them just a little above outlaws. Thus this spring, in a nation-wide Gallup poll, seven out of ten people with an opinion stated

they would not like to see their children enter politics as a life's work.

Let us suppose that instead of running a great nation we were running a pickle works and that our pickle sales were dropping every month. Clearly we would not begin by telling our sales department that all salesmen were stupid and crooked and unnecessary. Yet we do treat problems which are rather more urgent than pickle sales in just that fashion. And if we continue to do so, we probably have as much chance of survival as the buggy manufacturers had of licking Henry Ford.

It will be obvious that fundamental problems call for fundamental solutions. And truly the problems presented by our present system of politics are fundamental. They are not going to be solved by palliatives. It will do us no good at all to resolve that for the next 30 days we shall never place the word "dirty" directly next to the word "politician." It will do us no good to make speeches or to write editorials saying we need better men and women in politics and a higher public regard for politicians.

Yet there is something—something fundamental and lasting—that can be done about the present situation. It is possible; it is urgently necessary; and it is eminently practical.

Moreover, if this thoroughly "doable" thing is indeed done, it should

*Mr. Graham is publisher of the *Washington Post and Times Herald*. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Committee for Economic Development and director of several corporations. From 1939 to 1941 Mr. Graham served as law secretary to Mr. Justice Stanley Reed, then to Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter. This article is Mr. Graham's address before the annual dinner of the School of Business, University of Chicago, June 1, 1955.

constitute the single most important political reform of our times.

But before we discuss the solution, let us diagnose the basic problem in a bit more detail. For the problem is deeper than merely a question of public attitudes.

While it is a serious matter that politicians rank close to felons in the popularity polls, it is a much more serious matter that we force politicians to live in a system which goes a long way toward depriving them of self-respect.

Campaign Contributions

The fundamental defect in our present system of politics has specifically to do with our habits regarding contributions for political campaigns. Even putting the best possible face on the situation, it can only be described as morally squalid, ethically shocking and spiritually revolting.

As of 1955 the principal characteristics of our system of political finance can be accurately described in the following manner:

(1) We maintain a bold-faced, official lie about the cost of political campaigns and the amounts of political contributions.

(2) We almost universally fail to respond to—or even to recognize—the duties of the individual citizen in a free society.

(3) We consequently force politicians to live in close connection with the filthy power of gangsters and the acquisitive power of special interest groups and favor seekers.

First, let me briefly expand on the way we maintain an official lie about political expenditures. We do this

by having a federal law which limits expenditures by a candidate for Congress to a maximum of \$5,000, by a candidate for the Senate to \$25,000 and by a national political committee to \$3,000,000. Now a senator, even in a small state, cannot run for \$25,000 and in a state like Illinois he cannot run for \$250,000. But the law remains on the books, the myth is maintained by a series of long-practiced manipulations and evasions. So we force the able man entering politics to launch his career with an initial act of blatant hypocrisy—and to endure this indignity every time he runs again.

In fact, few if any people actually know what modern political campaigns do cost. One of the most respected members of the Senate has told me that in his state (about the size of Illinois) over \$3,000,000 was spent in a recent gubernatorial election.

But the existing system perpetuates the fraudulent impression that political expenditures are but a fraction of what they are. Thus, in the 1952 presidential campaign a total of \$17,500,000 was reported by the national committees of the two major parties. Some students of the matter estimate that actual expenditures came closer to \$100,000,000.

The limitations of \$25,000 for the Senate and \$5,000 for the House are patently laughable. For there are counties in this country where even a sheriff's race costs from ten to twenty times more than \$25,000.

Next, let us look at how seriously the average person defaults in his duties as an individual citizen. And in doing so let us remember that

with the new American economy—with our new wide distribution of wealth—we have a society wherein the average voter is in fact financially able to meet his obligations of citizenship.

We can examine the default of the citizenry by studying the 1954 congressional elections. There were 1,054 congressional candidates. Expenditures officially reported totalled \$13,700,000, and we can be sure actual expenditures were much higher.

Some Contributors

After that campaign the Gallup Poll asked people whether they had made a political contribution, not only in congressional races but for any of the many other campaigns that year. Assuming that such contributions would be made on a family basis, the answers were computed by families. This showed that only one family out of twenty had made any political contribution. If the answers were computed in terms of individual citizens, this would mean that only about two out of every hundred citizens made any contribution.

Since the default of the individual is so obvious, let us see what forces have rushed in to fill the vacuum.

No tidy compilation of statistics is available, but anyone at all familiar with politics can document the situation. There are three major sources of political funds:

(1) The underworld. The sums raised by the gangsters are much larger than anyone imagines. In 1948, for example, it was reported to the *Washington Post* that the numbers operators in Washington had raised \$100,000 to be spent

against two senators who had tried to investigate local gambling. One of the most profitable businesses in the United States is the illegal race wire service to illegal horse betting establishments. It makes millions every year, has survived every sort of attempt to break it up, and clearly must be the largest single source of political funds in the country.

(2) The second important source of political funds can broadly be called special interest groups. This includes the vast array of individuals and organizations who have something direct to gain from government. They are far different from the underworld in that their aims and purposes are wholly legitimate, if sometimes a bit acquisitive or selfish. So important is this source of funds that it is practically impossible to find any congressman or senator, however high-minded, who has not lost his freedom of decision in some particular area. When one realizes that \$100,000 carefully spent in a few small states can place a sizeable proportion of the United States Senate under obligation, it is easy to understand the temptation that exists for all special interest groups.

(3) The third group of established political contributors probably contributes the least in total amount, though their contributions are still important. They can be described as "the hopefuls." They are people who contribute in the expectation of receiving high public office. Their existence explains to a large extent why in the 1954 election less than 1,000 people contributed more than one-fifth of the total amount reported by both major national politi-

cal committees. Their total gifts represented \$1,850,000. And although the law—that same unenforced, hypocritical law—limits individual contributions to \$5,000 to any one candidate or committee, it is believed that some resourceful contributors have managed to locate or create enough committees to permit contributions of over \$100,000 in a single campaign.

So dominating is the need for political money, that this form of outright sale of positions of public trust is universally accepted. It had to be practiced by that old professional, President Truman, and it has also had to be practiced by that idealistic amateur, President Eisenhower.

In bygone days this particular practice probably did little harm. Government was then relatively unimportant and a rich knucklehead here or there in high office could do little harm. Today, of course, this is radically altered. There are few unimportant high public posts. And both this administration and its predecessor have been weakened by the system which we average citizens have forced upon political leaders.

The over-all problem, I would like to repeat, is both serious and simple. We need the highest possible sort of people in politics because of the awesome decisions they must make. And we shall not have this until we get rid of the rotten financial foundation upon which our political system now rests, and thus begin to demonstrate toward politicians some of that decent concern which practitioners of the arts of free government deserve.

The political financial problem, we should realize, is going to grow in

size. This is inevitable because of our growth in population and growth in power of communications. Obviously politics will be expensive in a nation of 165,000,000 with rapidly widening suffrage.

We are many, many years away from 1789 when our constitution was ratified by fewer than 100,000 people —by only some 2 per cent of the population.

Campaign Costs

How to deal with this growing problem is a matter of mounting concern. To give you an idea of its dimensions let me point out that to put a presidential candidate on just one TV network for a single half-hour costs between \$50,000 and \$100,000.

To some these costs indicate only that modern mass communications are expensive. But that is not in fact the case, if we judge them on a per capita basis. Using mass media a candidate today probably spends much less to reach the individual voter than it cost Thomas Jefferson to feed all those horses that pulled his stagecoach, or even Theodore Roosevelt to pay for his campaign train.

The high cost of politics is a direct result of a high population and an expanding right of suffrage. And superficial attempts to solve the problem by having politicians pass rules as to what other politicians can get free TV time are only going to create new problems. Even stronger language can be employed against the suggestion, now 50 years old but constantly revived, that the government should appropriate funds for this purpose.

There is one step toward reform now being studied by the Senate which deserves support and encouragement. That is the effort by a committee, headed by Senator Hennings of Missouri, to write more realistic laws about political contributions. This is the 60th congressional committee to review this subject in the last 50 years. In so far as they are working toward full and honest accounting of all political contributions, they are working toward a desirable end. However, although present limits on expenditures will be considerably raised, the Senate hearings so far indicate that the new limits will still invite evasions by being unrealistically low. In any event, the work of Senator Hennings and his colleagues represents some of the most constructive work in many years. And success in their labors will be a stepping-stone toward better government.

How Raise Money?

But the major problem still remains. That is, how can we raise enough honest, untainted money to permit our politicians to run for office without becoming obligated to corrupt or selfish forces? And in doing this, how can we help to create a higher regard for the importance of politics in the American future?

The answer is, I think, not too difficult. It can be accomplished quickly enough to be effective in the 1956 campaign. Here are the basic facts. In the Gallup poll referred to above, only one family out of twenty made any political contribution in 1954. But Gallup also put this question: If asked, would you give five dollars to the party you prefer?

Thirty-three per cent of the families—about 16,000,000—said yes. A little over half said no, while some 13 per cent had no views. Now five dollars from 16,000,000 families equals \$80,000,000, and even a fraction of that amount of new, untainted money would revolutionize American politics. Moreover, it is ridiculously defeatist to assume that the other 66 per cent of our families cannot be convinced of their proper obligations of good citizenship.

The problem then is how to convince millions of Americans of an obvious fact—that good citizenship requires political contributions by each individual to the party or candidates of his choice. Good citizenship requires this just as much as it requires contributions to one's church, one's community fund, the Red Cross or other causes.

The weak at heart may tell us that even such an obvious truth cannot be quickly taught. That is nonsense.

Let's take a parallel though perhaps more difficult problem—the threatened European grain famine after World War II. The ravages of war and a severe drought had destroyed much of the European grain supply. Obviously millions of people were going to starve to death within six months. And almost everyone knew that nothing could be done about it. The only possible rescue was to get us to eat less wheat in America, and this seemed impossible because rationing controls could not be imposed in the short time available.

But a few people were unresigned to failure. They assumed that the American people would respond to

duty if they only knew what their duty was. So through a barrage of public service advertising, conducted by the Advertising Council, the people were informed. Early in 1946 a Gallup Poll showed that almost nobody knew of the need to save grain. By April 1946, almost nine out of ten Americans knew of the problem. And most of them were doing their duty. As a result our grain shipments reached unprecedented totals and reached them quickly. And not a single European died from famine that summer.

Public Service Advertising

The use of public service advertising is now so widespread that most of us forget it is a new and vitally useful social tool. In the past twelve years it has been an essential part of the savings bond program, has reduced traffic accidents, prevented forest fires, created blood banks for the armed services and aided a hundred other causes.

In 1952 public service advertising told Americans over and over again of their duty to register and vote and helped set new records for registration and voting.

One does not have to be an Einstein to see how great a function public service advertising could perform in helping to build a new and decent foundation under our system of political finance. Through television, magazines, radio, newspapers, billboards, car cards, even match boxes, the average decent American could

be reminded and reminded again of the importance of good government; of how good government depends on each citizen's supporting, as he can, the party or candidate of his choice. And by doing this we can gain the larger objective of giving public recognition to the fact that there should be no more noble calling in a free society than that of public life.

A complete, well coordinated campaign of public service advertising can create proper citizen support for political campaigns. It can do so quickly. By doing so it can, as I have said, create the most important political reform of the century.

What is needed to make this happen? What is needed to make it work? Nothing more than the support of decent citizens.

This country has in the Advertising Council a non-profit, non-partisan, public service group that annually administers \$100,000,000 worth of public service advertising donated by American business. The Advertising Council could provide a practical means for conducting such an educational campaign. It can be a campaign to further good government by reminding every citizen of his duty to support the party and candidates of his choice.

For my part I hope it is done. For the common concern of this country, we must end the fantastic system under which we treat our politicians as unsavory characters while at the same time we charge them with preserving our very civilization.

Under an 1818 Cloud

Connecticut groups seek modern constitution which would replace instrument designed for a rural state.

By MARK S. MATTHEWS*

THE people of Connecticut are now becoming aware that they are operating with a basic government structure largely inherited from a period in which the British Parliament itself was in a process of development. They have a document which in some of its provisions reflects distrust and lack of confidence, the bases for which no longer exist. They have today state machinery adapted from that designed for governments of communities almost purely agricultural in character; geared for a time when the work of governing could be disposed of in a period of a few weeks, after which men could go home for the rest of the year to their farming, their trading.

It is difficult to appreciate fully the sudden, accelerating rate of our growth, or the far-reaching social changes that have come with that growth. In 1818, when our constitution was adopted, the population of

Connecticut was only 275,000. Our largest city, New Haven, had fewer than 8,000 people. As late as the turn of the century, we had only about 15 per cent of our present government departments and agencies. Just 25 years ago the office of governor was a part-time job.

To modernize our constitution is to span the gap between what government in Connecticut is and what we know it could be. This, I feel, is generally recognized by thoughtful men and women. And generally recognized, too, is the fact that constitutional reform, to be fully effective, must come with thorough, integrated revision. Not that amendments aren't possible, despite the difficulties imposed by the present constitution. But such gains as have been achieved have been piecemeal.

We know now that the fact of amendments adopted is in itself not a demonstration of the adaptability of a state constitution to conditions imposed by modern living. The lag between need and action through amendment is too long; the resultant document, the more cumbersome. And so inevitably we have come to the point where total reconsideration of our fundamental law is clearly the answer to our needs.

In asking that the people of Connecticut be given a chance to say whether or not they wish to have such a reconsideration, we appeal to a

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principle as old and as important as any upon which we base our American way. In advocating government reform through a convention of the people, we are acting in accordance with a principle uniquely American—a concept that is a cornerstone of American constitutional theory.

Significant to me is the fact that the common denominator of our early constitutions was the concept that the determination of fundamental law is the right of the people, to be exercised through a convention of their representatives meeting solely for that purpose. To delegate this right to an ordinary legislative body is to ask individuals to make decisions directly and intimately affecting their jobs, their compensation, their relations with the executive and other important personal concerns. This they would be obliged to do under the very considerable strain of their usual legislative duties.

Right of the People

Fundamental law is of a very special nature, and important changes in this law can best be considered by representatives of the people meeting for that purpose. This principle, so much a part of our beginnings, determined a pattern for change of fundamental law that has become traditional in America. The convention is established as a method for constitutional revision in all states. Where not expressly provided, power is derived from bills of rights, which include the common provision that the people have an inalienable right to alter or reform their government in such manner as they deem proper.

When the citizens of a state have succeeded in exercising that prerogative of changing their basic law, they have chosen the most able of their citizens to do the job. And citizens of high calibre willingly serve, in full appreciation of the historic significance of what they do—in freedom to act in accordance with conviction and principle.

As legislative representative of the City of New York during the LaGuardia administration, I had an unusual opportunity to observe the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1938 in its organization and deliberations. I recall how tremendously impressed I was with the quality of the delegates. Many were distinguished public figures, or were later to leave their lasting mark upon public affairs, both in the state and in the nation. There was Senator Robert Wagner; Samuel Untermyer; Morris Tremaine, New York State comptroller; Robert Moses, a Republican candidate for governor; John Bennett, attorney general; Alfred E. Smith; Harold Riegelman, recent Republican candidate for the office of mayor of New York City; Joseph McKee, a mayor of New York City; Frank Moore, later lieutenant governor of the state; and many, many others high in the judiciary, leaders in business, the law and other professions. The people of Connecticut, as did the people of New York in 1938, would call upon the best civic leadership available and that leadership here, as in New York, would answer that call.

And even ordinary men would be touched by greatness—filled with a sense of extraordinary responsibility.

It was said in 1938 that some convention delegates who had had poor records as legislators were able to rise to the occasion and above themselves and assumed statesmanlike stature. Some, it is said, never fully recovered from their exposure but remained committed fully to the public interest.

That convention avoided an all-out gamble. It recognized the cumulative threat of minority oppositions to revision. Certain questions were highly controversial. Their revision was offered the people in the form of one general omnibus amendment and eight other controversial amendments.

Voters, in the opinion of political scientists speaking from the vantage point of time, showed careful discrimination in the acceptance of six proposals and the rejection of three. I felt at the time, and am now convinced, that that discrimination can be accounted for by the fact that the convention process is an educative one. People, given the facts, could make sound decisions and reasoned choices.

Another New York State convention, that of 1915, offers us an example of the fine spadework performed by a convention. That convention failed to achieve its primary purpose. A complete constitutional revision was rejected by the people—largely because of partisan influence. Yet most of the important revisions were later accepted in the form of amendments or statutes. There, again, was the influence of men like Henry Stimson, a cabinet member in both a Democratic and a Republican administration; Elihu Root, secretary

of state; George Wickersham, attorney general of the United States; and Alfred E. Smith.

Not to be taken lightly are those important concomitant values in the convention way to revision—quite apart from its primary end of drawing up an acceptable basic document. The press, radio and television would spotlight public attention upon an event of historic importance. Public education would give state problems an extraordinary emphasis. Basic issues would become sharply identified. An important consequence of the organization and functioning of a convention would be a thorough airing of all pressing concerns. An aroused public interest would lead to wider understanding. Citizens, as in no other way, would receive an education in public affairs that would affect the political health of our state for a generation.

Areas of Concern

Let us review briefly some of the areas of concern such a convention in Connecticut would fully explore. We cannot presume to fix the relative importance of these areas—any more than we can presume to decide the nature or the extent of constitutional change. We do know, however, that there is a widespread feeling that reconsideration in many areas is long overdue.

In any Connecticut constitutional convention, a major concern undoubtedly would be article III, having to do with the legislative branch of our government. Since 1818, thirteen amendments have been added to this article, suggesting the basic inadequacy of its provisions.

No one looks for a Utopia. We all know the serious block to revision even the mere mention of article III raises.

The mistake we make—the mistake some politicians have led us into making—is to accept the idea that we have a straight yes and no proposition—at one pole, things as they are; at the other, a complete abandonment of representation as we have had it and a wholly new system based solely upon population. There need be no such unyielding matching of unalterable positions where there are men of good will—with a capacity for compromise in the interests of better government for their state. Inevitably there will be a difference of opinion—compromises all along the line. I don't believe a convention of representatives of the people of Connecticut would allow so vital an interest as constitutional reform to be broken on this question. I am certain that this controversial matter of apportionment would not be allowed to jeopardize the success of a convention.

Other questions we can expect to receive a thorough airing include the size of our House of Representatives, a question worthy in its own right. Does the size of our House affect the efficiency with which it operates? Must we have fixed adjournment dates with this incredible piling up of a veritable log-jam of bills? Does the business of governing Connecticut require that this body meet annually? Should the compensation of members of the General Assembly be limited by the constitution to \$600 a term? Should we have automatic, mandatory reapportionment of the Senate?

The executive branch would share the spotlight. Are officials other than those at the top more responsible because they are elected? Should legislative confirmation of the governor's major appointments be required? What about his veto powers, especially as they apply to financial measures?

Recognition would certainly be given to the growing statewide interest in a direct primary system for Connecticut. All other states have abandoned exclusive reliance upon caucuses and conventions. Though such a measure need not, perhaps, be part of a constitution, its discussion at a convention would give great impetus to the growing demand for its adoption. Almost certainly, action would follow an overwhelming demand developed because of public appreciation of its advantages.

State-local Relations

Convention proceedings would bring a general awareness of modern government procedures almost wholly new to Connecticut. What convention would neglect full consideration of the initiative, the various forms of referendum, the process of recall? In a body motivated by the democratic ideal they would be fully weighed; the experience of other states fully explored.

Special attention would be directed to problems that seemingly have defied legislative solution. Important are those in the complicated area of state-local relations. Generally accepted is the need for freeing the Assembly from the burden of special legislation, so that it can exercise a proper concern for the welfare of the

state as a whole. The people's representatives at a convention would be well aware of the legislative slowdowns, the drain upon legislative time and energy, the dismal business of legislative manipulation that stems from the lack of a constitutional provision drawing as sharp a line as is practical between concerns essentially local and those necessarily statewide.

It is literally true that if a General Assembly were to give proper attention to the special legislation introduced at each session it would have little time for that affecting the state as a whole.

Consider, if you can, the august Assembly called upon to decide whether or not a town should have a second dog warden—the impossibility of determining whether the town needs one, can afford one, or whether the local citizens actually want their dogs chased twice as effectively as they have been chased.

Connecticut today has home rule in name only. Legislation as a way to reform has failed. Towns and cities still look to the General Assembly to act on their own peculiarly local problems. Few states impose such impossible limitations as does our home rule law. Perhaps our convention will come to the conclusion reached in 22 other states: home rule should be a matter of constitutional provision. Only a few states have tried to do this solely through legislation.

Perhaps the most stubborn problem of the many knotty problems to be attacked by a Connecticut constitutional convention would be that of determining a method of constitutional revision. How can a constitu-

tion be made flexible enough to respond to the continuing change we know our society is experiencing—and will continue to experience?

Our American democracy by its very nature is dynamic. When it becomes static it will cease to be either democratic or American. A constitution determines the relation between a government and its people. As social, economic and political conditions change, so does that relationship. A constitution must be capable of reflecting that change. The difficulty lies in providing this responsiveness and at the same time assuring the conservation of those values which are the essence of our American living.

Difficulties Faced

Well we know the difficulties of securing such a convention here in Connecticut. We have felt them at first hand. We can anticipate the active opposition to be met from the opposition we have experienced. Opponents of the convention tell us the cost is too great. The cost of a convention is a small part of our budget. Because we in Connecticut have failed to adjust our structure of government to twentieth century demands, we have wasted millions of dollars and have given citizens questionable value for their tax dollar in many areas. In light of the demonstrable savings that can be realized, the improved quality of services to be enjoyed and the strengthening of the whole structure of fundamental law, a convention is a bargain!

In outraged dignity some declare: "There are no grave injustices or injuries being worked upon the people

of this state!" There are injustices and injuries where the tax dollar does not buy its full measure of services, where the people find it often impossible to work their will in the halls of the legislature.

The convention will be subjected to unwholesome influence, others cry. "Pinks" will dominate its proceedings. Change will be radical—we'll lose our cherished freedoms—we can expect chaos as a consequence. That has not been the experience of other states. Conventions have been reluctant to innovate, have held to traditional patterns and tried procedures.

A state senator, holding aloft a copy of the *Bible* and the constitution, shouts, "Let's have no hanky panky with our constitution!" "Let us not compare the word of God with that of man!" countered his colleague.

Republicans tell one another that this whole business of constitutional revision is but a Democratic plot. I don't know the political affiliations of the Citizens for a Connecticut Constitutional Convention. In fact, I don't care. But I'll wager there are as many Republicans as Democrats actively working with that group—and with the League of Women Voters—for more efficient, sounder government through a convention.

And then, too, we must expect the cry of the cynic and answer its challenge whenever and wherever we hear it. Consider the quality of the opposition we can expect in such a remark as, "Maybe it is inefficient, but who says we should have efficiency in government?"

State government cannot remain

for citizens a kind of twilight zone through which they grope, weighed down by the seemingly more immediate demands of local government, dazzled by the drama in Washington. The public education job, the task of raising the level of public expectancy in the area of state government, is a well defined one.

There are certain psychological barriers that must be surmounted through education. We must firmly confront the idea that whatever is, is good regardless of changing circumstances.

We too feel a nostalgic regard for the past—for the political as well as the social heritage that is ours. We too do honor to that past. We too would hold firmly to those concepts—those principles that have proved so good. But we certainly include, too, among those good basic concepts that have come to us from the past the idea that the people of Connecticut have an inalienable and indefeasible right to decide whether or not they wish to change the structure of their government.

Apathy Fought

Some people resist change—on principle it seems. As Thomas Jefferson commented: "Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant—too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. . . . I am certainly not an advocate of frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions. . . . But I know also that laws and institutions must

go hand in hand with progress."

The League of Women Voters and the Citizens for a Constitutional Convention are making inroads upon the apathy that is still evident. Heartening indeed has been the interest and support of so large and influential a part of the press in our efforts to secure favorable action on the constitutional referendum measures. Few issues before the General Assembly received as much editorial attention as did Senate Bill 579 and House Bill 1070. Not only are these papers molders of public opinion in a very constructive and acceptable sense, but their enlightened editorial positions may certainly be taken as a reflection of a growing, informed interest in constitutional reform.

We are not underestimating the difficulties we must continue to face. Let us not, on the other hand, underestimate our resources.

Political leaders in both parties are "agin" inefficiency and waste, are each and all for businesslike administration, for the elimination of legislative bottlenecks, for centralized responsibility, for home rule, for a harkening to the voice of the people, for direct primaries, *et cetera, et cetera, et cetera*. The Citizens for a Constitutional Convention and the League of Women Voters intend to confront these leaders with a clear test of their sincerity. There is a demonstrable need for nonpartisan action. Let them meet this need.

We propose to organize a citizens movement that will be representative, informed, vigorous, determined. I feel we have a good start. Let us enlist the aid of every other citizen

organization in the state. Yes, even the political parties themselves. There is evidence that there is growing support not within one party only, but within both.

To lose a battle is not to lose a war. The reality of the victories won through the years gives assurance of ultimate success in this effort to give Connecticut citizens the opportunity to reconsider the structure of their government through a constitutional convention.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 345)

modest contributions to the party of his choice. This positive approach is certainly more promising than the strictly negative and rather useless effort to impose legal limitations on the sources and amounts of campaign contributions. It has the additional advantage, moreover, of recognizing that the adequate financing of political campaigns is a matter of general public interest. A popular election is pointless unless it is preceded by a campaign which is calculated to enable every voter to learn about the issues and the candidates. In this age of expensive mass communication media this result cannot be achieved without substantial campaign funds.

It might be appropriate to go further in recognizing the public as distinct from the private interest in political campaigns by amending the internal revenue act to permit deduction of reasonable personal campaign contributions for income tax purposes.

How About Party Labels?

Although Minnesota's legislature is elected without them, it is nevertheless organized in two factions.

By RALPH S. FJELSTAD*

MINNESOTA and Nebraska are the only states where legislators are elected on ballots which do not reveal their party affiliation. In Nebraska provision for nonpartisanship was adopted as part of the constitutional amendment establishing a unicameral legislature in 1934. Minnesota eliminated party labels by statute in 1913. The reasons for electing lawmakers by nonpartisan ballots were thoroughly discussed, along with arguments favoring a one-house legislature, in Nebraska.¹ In Minnesota, however, party labels were taken from legislators by a surprise amendment to a bill extending nonpartisanship to certain county and judicial officers and with little discussion of the merits, weaknesses or consequences of such an arrangement.²

Reports from Nebraska indicate that the nonpartisan election of lawmakers has resulted in a legislature which functions not only without

formal parties but also without the party spirit which may occur if certain permanent factions or groups assume the roles normally taken by parties. This is what the constitution requires. The legislature is also nonpartisan in the sense that no factions seem to exist within it and "amazingly little partisanship" is found in its proceedings.³ To what extent is this achievement due to the limited size of the 43-member, one-house legislature?

Has elimination of party labels in Minnesota also resulted in the absence of permanently organized factions and formalized partisan activities in the bicameral, 198-member legislature of that state? The answer must be in the negative.

Under the election laws of Minnesota, all candidates for the legislature are nominated and elected upon "separate nonpartisan ballots," each of which is marked "ballot of candidates to be nominated without party designation." These election laws are followed to the letter. Party labels are not attached to lawmakers during their election campaigns and legislative records do not identify members with any party as they consider legislation. However, formalized partisanship does exist in the organization and functioning of the legislature. What is the nature of

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¹See John P. Senning, *The One-House Legislature* (1937), pages 55-58, 63; and Alvin W. Johnson, *The Unicameral Legislature* (1938), pages 133, 136, 143.

²For a study of the beginnings of legislative nonpartisanship in Minnesota, see Charles R. Adrian, "The Origin of Minnesota's Nonpartisan Legislature," *Minnesota History*, Winter 1952, pages 155-163.

³Belle Zeller, Ed., *American State Legislatures* (1954), page 212.

these legislative factions and to whom are they responsible? What is their relationship to the regular parties? How do the people of the state view these legislative factions and what are the attitudes toward a continuation of them?

Surrender Independence

Minnesota's legislators come to St. Paul without being bound to any party or officially committed to any platform. They appear to surrender much of their independence in a hurry, however. Members of both the House and the Senate divide into two factions, Conservative and Liberal, in the selection of presiding officers. It is no secret that these divisions are coming because factional leaders in each house often meet in advance of the session to agree upon candidates for legislative offices. Thus, it was known before the opening of the 1953 session that the Conservative nominee would win the speakership because almost two-thirds of the House members had committed themselves in a pre-session caucus to support him as the candidate of their faction. A like situation existed in the Senate on the naming of the president pro tem.⁴ The Conservatives had a three-to-one majority over the Liberals in the Senate and a slightly less than two-to-one majority in the House.

It is obvious that some division must be expected when two persons are candidates for the same office. What is important here is the fact

⁴The actual presiding officer in the Senate is the partisan and popularly elected lieutenant governor; the president pro tem is, therefore, the highest official named by the Senate itself.

that the division on the election of presiding officers is one which continues throughout a session. In voting Conservative or Liberal the legislator chooses sides and he generally chooses for keeps. Note what subsequently happens in the assignment of members to committees. During the 1953 session in the House the speaker excluded the minority faction from any participation whatever on the important Rules Committee. To reserve this committee for Conservatives and to overlook deliberately every Liberal, however able or experienced, is a partisan method of selection. The speaker also named a Conservative as the chairman of each of the 39 standing committees and gave all the committee vice-chairmanships to members of his faction.

Such partiality is now a traditional practice in Minnesota's legislature. On the opening day of the 1955 session in January the Liberals captured the speakership in the House by the slim vote of 66-65. Even with this precarious margin the Liberal speaker excluded all Conservatives from the Rules Committee and monopolized all committee chairmanships and vice-chairmanships with members of his faction.

The organization of the Senate reveals a similar control by the majority faction. In 1953 senators who voted for the defeated Liberal candidate for president pro tem got no places on the important Committee on Rules and Legislative Expense or on several of the other important committees. No chairmanship of a committee was given to a Liberal and Conservatives outnumbered Liberals

on all significant committees. When the Conservatives also gained control of the 1955 Senate, Liberals were once again deprived of positions of leadership because they belonged to the minority faction.

The evidence shows that this division into Conservatives and Liberals also affects the legislators' votes on issues. During the 1953 session the House passed 38 bills which were sufficiently controversial so that ten or more of its members voted against them. With about one-third of House membership, the Liberals, as the minority faction, were responsible for 56 per cent of the votes cast in opposition. It should be noted, however, that such a finding is based on the total "no" votes on all controversial bills. Some of these actually raised such matters as the urban-rural conflict rather than subjects which would cause a majority-minority division.

An even better indication of loyalty to faction is found by studying those bills which were opposed by a majority of the Liberals, thus making them factional issues. On these alone Liberals, with one-third of the membership, cast 74 per cent of the votes in opposition. The Conservatives who supplied the remaining 26 per cent of these votes were, for the most part, a small group of the majority which voted rather consistently with the Liberals. This is evidenced by the fact that 10 per cent of the majority group was responsible for 35 per cent of the Conservative votes in opposition.

The fact that the Conservative-Liberal alignment appears in voting on controversial bills means that this



Courtesy of Minneapolis Star
"TIMBER!"

division also exists on important issues. An analysis of the voting on all measures considered during the 1953 session satisfies the writer that Minnesota legislators tend to follow their factional commitments in much the same way that lawmakers in a partisan legislature respect their party lines.

While the binding quality of factional alignments seems to be more pronounced in the House than in the Senate, the discipline of these groups is evident in both houses. What the Minnesota legislature has, therefore, is a legislative "party" system in which the majority "party" manages the machinery of lawmaking through the well-known instrumentalities of party control—selection of presiding officers, naming of committee chairmen, assignment of members to committees in sufficient numbers to control them, majority and minority leaders, caucuses and party discipline in voting.

If further evidence of the similar-

ity of these legislative factions to parties is needed, it may be found in the practice which both Conservatives and Liberals follow of seeking election of legislators who will caucus with their groups. Thus, the 1953 majority leader in the House has long been prominent in encouraging candidacies and finding financial help for those who promise to join the Conservatives if they are elected. A Liberal Legislators Volunteer Committee was organized for the 1954 elections and claims much of the credit for winning the seats which gave the Liberals control of the House in 1955 for the first time in sixteen years.

In reaching his conclusions the writer does not intend to imply that legislators in Minnesota are guilty of illegal conduct. There would seem to be no incompatibility between the concept of a nonpartisan or no-party-label election, which is all the law requires, and the practice of legislators organizing and functioning on the basis of two well defined factions after their election. Could a two-house legislature, with 67 members in the Senate and 131 members in the House, really function effectively in any other way? The writer tends to doubt that it could.

What is the relationship of the Conservatives and Liberals to the two major parties which compete for executive offices in the state? Conservatives in the legislature have been, for the most part, supporters of the Republican party and Liberals have belonged to the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. Leadership in the two legislative groups has often come from the corresponding parties.

The 1953 Conservative majority leader in the House served for many years as national committeeman for the Republicans. The chairman of one of the most important committees in the 1953 session was, at that time, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee and was the candidate for lieutenant governor on the Republican ticket in 1954. At the present time the leader of the Conservatives in the House is state chairman of the Republicans. About 20 per cent of the Conservatives in the House during the 1953 session held, or had held, offices in the Republican party.

Parties Hint at Affinity

On the other hand, a most vocal spokesman for the Liberal cause in the 1953 and 1955 sessions as a member of the legislature was the 1948 Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate for governor. The DFL assigned its defeated candidate for the U. S. Senate in 1952 to work for the party platform in the legislature; he worked primarily with the Liberals, frequently joining them in their caucuses.

In their various activities the parties themselves hint at the affinity between Conservatives and Republicans, Liberals and the DFL. In preparing their 1954 platform Republicans sent questionnaires to Conservative members of the legislature for suggestions and advice; they did not solicit Liberal opinion. Republicans have sought candidates in those districts where a Liberal legislator has no opposition or where a Conservative is not running for re-election. They have been hesitant, on the

other hand, to oppose any Conservative incumbent whatever may have been his lack of support of the Republican platform.

The Democratic - Farmer - Labor party has worked for the election of legislators who will caucus with the Liberals. Its attitude is reflected in article VI, section 6, of its state constitution: "The Liberal members of the state legislature may be certified by the Credentials Committee as non-voting members of the state convention." Liberals are presumed to belong to the DFL while none of the Conservatives are, not even those who may be DFL outside the legislature.

It must not be concluded, however, that the Conservative "party" is simply the alter ego of Republicanism or that the same relationship exists between Liberals and the DFL. These legislative "parties" are not included within either the official or unofficial party organizations of the state. As factions of a nonpartisan legislature they are really irresponsible, being insulated not only from answerability to the regular party system but also from the voters because of no-party-label elections. The voter cannot even choose between a Conservative and a Liberal from any information officially available to him, for such a designation on the ballot would violate the law.

The writer has discovered that many citizens are unaware of the existence of these "parties" and do not know which of them their legislator has joined. The legislator can take advantage of nonpartisan elections by refusing to commit himself publicly to any platform or on any issue

even after he has promised allegiance to a legislative faction. One sometimes hears legislators say that the truly nonpartisan lawmaker is the one who does not take a public stand on anything until presented with the problem in the legislature. This is a neat argument for evading a position on controversial legislation and avoiding an election contest.

Party Names Demanded

There is a growing disenchantment with nonpartisanship in the Minnesota legislature. The evidence of this is the rising demand for a restoration of party designation. This demand does not come only from the parties, though both have been promoting the change for a long time. Many important newspapers in the state are for it. The League of Women Voters regularly includes party labels for legislators on its state agenda. Labor groups have endorsed the change. The Minnesota poll of July 4, 1954, indicated that 53 per cent of the voting-age population wanted party designation.

The legislature itself has seriously considered a return to party labels. During the 1953 session the House passed a bill to provide for the change and the Senate came within an inch of doing so too. In the 1955 session the issue was clouded by an amendment adding county officers to the bill and party designation was defeated once more. Including party labels for county officials was an admittedly clever device for confusing the issue. Minnesotans have not lost faith in the value of nonpartisan elections for county and local offices but many of them doubt that under

present conditions such a system is equally ideal for the state legislature.

Those persons and groups who favor a return to party labels for legislators feel a certain frustration about their inability to influence, if not control, the "party" system which exists in the lawmaking body. Certainly the parties feel this way. The legislature assumes no obligation to support the planks of either party and several important proposals consistently found in both platforms never get enough votes for passage. Legislative "parties" take sides on issues without being required to answer to the voters as "parties" for the sides they have taken. The governor and other state executives are elected as party men and are held responsible for the programs they espouse.

Nonpartisan elections are fine for subdivisions of the state where there should not be a Republican or Democratic way of doing things. But when a state legislature is so large that it probably cannot function effectively without the discipline of some kind of party system, and when it resolves problems for which the party system might provide alternative programs of action, should not

the voters be given the machinery through which they can choose between these alternatives?

There is, of course, another side to this question. Would the legislature really do a better job of lawmaking if party labels were restored? The Minnesota lawmaking body seems to have done as well as many legislatures which do function under regular parties and may have done better than some. Would the legislature function more smoothly, more efficiently and more in the interests of the governed under formal party discipline? It would be difficult to establish that the extent or limits of the discipline within the Conservative and Liberal groups is any more or less rigid, any more or less responsible, any more or less desirable than the discipline which might result if the legislature should give up its nonpartisan character. The frustration of persons and groups who would like to influence a legislature more than they can or do is not a phenomenon unique to Minnesota. Whether this frustration would be eased under party designation, or whether such easing would necessarily make for better government, are difficult questions to answer.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Florida Moves to Change Basic Law

Legislature Provides Revision Commission

ON JUNE 6 LeRoy Collins, Governor of Florida, signed an act of the 1955 legislature establishing a commission to study revision of the state constitution. This culminated a long fight to secure approval of such a measure in the legislative session which adjourned June 4.

In the 1954 election the governor had made constitutional revision one of the main points in his platform. On April 5, 1955, in his message at the opening of the legislature, he urged establishment of a constitutional commission. The Florida House was favorable to the commission from the beginning but, in the Senate, the opening days of the session witnessed defeat of the revision proposal. Finally a modified measure was adopted in the House and this ultimately was accepted by the Senate.

As adopted, the amended version¹ establishes a commission of 37 to study the constitution and report back recommendations for revision, article by article, to the 1957 session of the legislature. The legislature would have to adopt such revised articles as it approved with a three-fifths vote of each house necessary for passage. Finally the voters at the 1958 general election would consider the revision and a majority of those voting on the measure would be necessary to adopt.

Legislative representation on the commission is composed of the eight members of the Senate and the eight members

of the House who are on the Florida Legislative Council, plus the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House. The governor appoints eight members, the chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court appoints five members, the Board of Governors of the Florida Bar Association appoints five members and the attorney general serves *ex-officio*. An appropriation of \$100,000 was made to cover expenses.

Establishment of the commission culminates the efforts of several Florida groups. The Committee on Constitutional Revision of the Florida Bar Association, under the chairmanship of Daniel Redfearn of Miami, published two drafts of a proposed revision, in 1947 and 1949. Since 1948 the Florida League of Women Voters has campaigned actively for revision. In 1949 the Citizens Constitution Committee of Florida was established under the chairmanship of Professor J. E. Dovell of the University of Florida. Subsequently the chairmanship was assumed, first by Richard Simpson of Monticello and currently by John McCarty of Fort Pierce. Professor Dovell has continued as executive director. Four studies of the Florida constitution were published by that organization. The writer of this article, in collaboration with Professor William C. Havard, has written a monograph, *The Florida Constitution of 1885—A Critique*, published by the University of Florida Law Review and the Public Administration Clearing Service of the University of Florida.

Governor Collins appointed a Citizens Committee which had the double role of drafting the proposals which were introduced in the legislature and of explaining these before the House and Senate committees considering them. The chairman of the committee was William A. McRae,

¹House Concurrent Resolution No. 92, House Bill No. 188, Senate Bill No. 555.

Jr., a past president of the Florida Bar Association, of Bartow, Florida. Mr. McRae and Wallace Sturgis, of Ocala, a former president of the Florida Senate, assumed the principal burden of defending the proposal for a constitutional committee before the legislative committees. Two former speakers of the House, who still are members of that body, Perry Murray of Frostproof and C. Farris Bryant of Ocala, were also prominent in the work on revision.

The bill establishing the commission limits its work by excluding from consideration the bill of rights, homestead exemption and certain fiscal sections providing the distribution of money among the counties. On the other hand, the commission is free to consider such important matters as reapportionment, organization of the executive branch, organization of the judiciary and a number of other problems. Finally, it will have the task of going through the entire document—a patchwork which has been amended approximately a hundred times since 1885.

The extent of the revision which will be accepted by the legislature of 1957 is the main question at the present time. The very reluctance of the Senate to approve revision at the start of the session demonstrates the difficulty in securing in that chamber the necessary three-fifths vote required to submit the work of the commission to the voters. Part of this question will not be answered until after the election of new members to the Senate and the governor in 1956.

MANNING J. DAUER
University of Florida

Pennsylvania Governor's Office Revamped

Attempts over a number of years to improve state government organization in Pennsylvania are showing results, especially as to the objective of making the governor's role more effective through

better organization and utilization of staff services.

In 1953 the State Government Survey Committee, popularly known as the Chesterman Committee, recommended establishment of a position of "executive for administration," who would function as deputy to the governor in respect to the administrative machinery and business operations of the state government. The report of this committee also included a recommendation that had been made two years earlier by the Joint State Government Commission that a cabinet level Department of Accounting be established to formulate and operate a system of sound, modern governmental book-keeping and accounting practices. At the time of Governor Leader's election last November these proposals had not been accepted.

Late in 1954 the Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., made a study of the governor's office to provide a guide for organization and staffing for newly-elected Governor Leader. The recommendations of the report were accepted almost in their entirety by the governor and he proceeded to organize and staff his office accordingly. The plan presented and adopted was tailor-made to fit within the existing legal organizational framework and to take advantage of the unusually broad administrative authority of Pennsylvania's chief executive, thereby eliminating the need for time-consuming legislative action. It enabled the governor to implement the plan upon taking office while at the same time accomplishing the basic objectives contained in earlier proposals.

The plan presented recognized the distinction between those functions and responsibilities that are political and ceremonial in nature and those that are administrative, resulting in a proposal for two top jobs in the governor's office: one to be secretary to the governor, who would coordinate and supervise the staff, aiding the governor in carrying out his

political and ceremonial responsibilities, and a secretary for administration, who would supervise the administration agencies in order to obtain effective and efficient performance, coordinate their activities and keep the governor fully informed of their operation. Under the secretary to the governor the plan called for the positions of legislative secretary, public relations secretary, personnel secretary and chief clerk. Under the secretary for administration it provided for the Divisions of Budget, Management Research, Accounts and Control, and Personnel.

One interesting characteristic of the new organization is the establishment of two personnel agencies; one under the secretary to the governor for handling non-civil service recruitment, and one under the secretary for administration to administer and standardize personnel policies and practices. The new organization plan provided for a Division of Accounts and Control in the governor's office to carry out the functions recommended for the Department of Accounting under prior proposals. Another feature of the proposed plan was establishing for the first time a recognized management research unit to analyze and review administrative organization, methods and procedures.

In order to bring about a sound basis for the discharge of the accounting and personnel functions Public Administration Service was engaged to establish both an over-all accounting system and a revised classification and pay plan. One of the problems encountered in installing the organizational plan has been the difficulty in obtaining personnel for the technical positions within the divisions. From time to time the league has made follow-up analyses to help work out the details of installation.

LESLIE D. HOWE

Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc.
Harrisburg, Pa.

What Is a Holiday?

The county board of Cook County, Illinois, was in somewhat of a turmoil recently over employee requests for special holidays. Following a custom of many years' standing the board approved a resolution making March 17 a holiday for any county employee who wished to do honor to St. Patrick. Another customary resolution set aside April 7 and 8 as holidays for employees observing the Passover. Then came a rash of special holiday requests for Swedish Pioneer Day, Danish Independence Day and Lief Erickson Day. Commissioner Chaplin finally brought it to a halt in announcing that he planned to sponsor a resolution for St. Andrew's Day, "And in keeping with the high principles of the patron saint of Scotland that will be a day of work."

American Municipal News,
May 1955.

Rhode Island Convention Proposes Three Amendments

In a ten-hour session held June 20, delegates to Rhode Island's third limited constitutional convention, elected June 9, adopted three proposed amendments, reports *The Providence Journal*. The amendments will be submitted to popular vote on July 12. They include:

1. A \$1,500 annual salary for legislators and \$3,000 for the House speaker, with eight-cent mileage limited to 60 days of an annual session. (The lawmakers now get \$5 a day for 60 days, the equivalent of \$300 a year, plus eight-cent mileage. The speaker gets \$600.)
2. Job protection for Supreme and Superior Court judges up to 70 years of age and fifteen years on the bench.

The legislature is forbidden to reduce salary or pension of a judge once he is appointed. (The Supreme Court is elected by the legislature and the Superior Court is appointed by the governor with Senate confirmation. The judges of neither court have tenure at present and their pensions may be reduced by the legislature.)

3. Power for cities and towns to redevelop slum and substandard areas, including power to condemn private property for the purpose of redevelopment.

The convention refused to adopt a proposal which would have amended the constitution's home rule provision to give the people of Pawtucket and other home rule cities the right to prescribe the manner and kind of their local elections. It was held to be outside the scope of the convention.

Connecticut Legislative Turmoil Brings Quick Action

The special session of the Connecticut legislature, called by Governor Abraham A. Ribicoff for June 22, approved three proposed constitutional amendments designed to make that body more efficient: One for annual sessions; one requiring legislative bills to be of general character and giving more home rule to cities and towns; and one creating a claims commission to relieve the legislature of handling a mass of bills for claims. The proposals must also be approved by the 1957 legislature and then submitted to popular vote.

The need for legislative reforms in Connecticut had been spurred by the logjam of bills remaining at the statutory end of the 1955 session on June 8, and the failure to pass bills necessary to operate the state in the next biennium. Among those that failed were bills extending the sales tax, corporation tax and unincorporated business tax, a \$19,000,000 measure increasing state aid to towns for education, and one to raise the

gasoline tax from four to six cents a gallon. Legislative leaders said that about 50 other bills necessary for adequate operations were not passed.

To add to the confusion, the Senate and House floors were clogged with lobbyists and spectators on the closing night. The governor urged that the floors be restricted to legislators, legislative employees and members of the press.

Lieutenant Governor Charles W. Jewett said that the legislative situation has become so complicated that annual sessions are needed. Over 3,600 bills were considered at this session—nearly 1,000 more than in 1953.

A statement by Republican legislators proposed several reforms. One would require all bills dealing with fiscal matters to be reported by committees and printed two weeks before the constitutionally fixed end of the session; another would waive, during the last fifteen days, the Senate provision for unanimous consent to suspend the rules.

The Connecticut League of Women Voters called for a complete review of the legislative process, along with a convention to review the constitution itself. The latter move has long been favored by the Democrats but opposed by the Republicans, who are permanently entrenched in the lower house.

The Connecticut Public Expenditure Council stated that the \$298,400,000 biennial budget has been left out of balance by \$53,000,000. It recommends that the budget act, embodying all appropriations, be passed and presented to the governor not less than ten days before the end of the session.

Missouri Ruckus Shows Need for One-house Legislature

A feud between Senate and House of the Missouri legislature threatened to block final passage of important legislation, after House members staged a near riot on May 17 by invading and disrupt-

ing a Senate session in an unruly demonstration.

As reported by Herbert Trask in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "The wild scene reached a climax when about 50 House members marched on the Senate chamber in protest against the Senate's demand that a House member apologize for striking its sergeant-at-arms in a relatively minor altercation a few hours earlier....

"One disgusted legislator remarked, 'This disgraceful exhibition is the best argument I have ever seen for a unicameral legislature!'"

Reforms Pressed in Washington State

Despite failure of the Washington state legislature to adopt its reorganization proposals in 1953,¹ the Committee on State Government Organization—also known as the Shefelman or Little Hoover committee—has continued to press its chief recommendations: an office of administration, a merit system and a department of natural resources. These three proposals were introduced in the 1955 session, and although they again failed of adoption as such, progress was made, particularly as to the first-mentioned.

The committee has continued to function through the aid of the governor and the legislative council. It has carefully reviewed the three proposals mentioned and has somewhat revised the first two and substantially modified the third. Two new studies have been undertaken: one on collection of state taxes, the other on the method of selecting the members of the Public Service Commission.

The proposal for an office of administration calls for consolidation in such an office of certain fiscal management, purchasing and property management functions performed by the director of the

budget, the state auditor and the director of public institutions.

The latter director has had responsibility for purchasing, stores, building and grounds, and archives management, which functions are proposed to be transferred to the office of administration, thus giving the director of public institutions greater freedom in meeting his basic responsibilities.

The state auditor would be relieved of the functions of disbursement, central bookkeeping and inspection of vouchers before payment. He would be required and equipped to make an annual audit of all state agencies and funds in accordance with modern auditing standards, with emphasis on testing and improving systems of internal control. He would also be given authority to make current audits by sampling and test-checking methods when and where they appeared to be warranted.

The proposal for an office of administration passed the Senate but died in committee in the House. However, the legislature created a Department of General Administration into which the functions of the Department of Public Institutions, other than those of penal, correctional and mental institutions, are transferred—but without adding budgeting and pre-auditing.

The proposal for a merit system of personnel administration, as presented in 1953, has been revised so as to give the personnel board more leeway in authority to exempt additional positions from the system if it finds justification on the score that such positions are of a policy-making nature. It was felt that allowance should be made for changing circumstances and that the board is the proper agency to exercise discretion in this matter.

It was also recommended that it be made possible for employees in the classified service to be appointed to exempt positions without losing all their acquired rights, and that they be eligible for re-

¹See the REVIEW, January 1953, page 34, and May 1953, page 237.

Davy Crockett Elected in Pittsburgh

In Pennsylvania obscure precinct judges of election are regularly elected to count the vote the following year. It has been disclosed in years past that sometimes empty names have been elected, the places being ultimately filled by persons recruited by the party workers to serve as stand-ins.

The United Press reports that on May 17 in Pittsburgh a few voters wrote in for this office the name of Davy Crockett and the hero of the Alamo was duly elected.

R.S.C.

employment in the classified service in any vacancies for which they are qualified.

The board would also be enabled to adjust pay plans to labor market conditions and practices, and to authorize employing agencies to draft classification and compensation plans conforming largely to job classes and pay scales in private employment of recognized trades, crafts and other skilled groups, or of semi-skilled labor occupations, in various areas of the state.

The proposal for a statewide merit system passed the Senate overwhelmingly but died in House committee.

The department of natural resources, recommended by the committee, would replace five existing agencies—the Commissioner of Public Lands, the Board of State Land Commissioners, the State Forest Board, the Department of Conservation and Development and the Sustained Yield Forest No. 1 Committee. It would also take over certain functions of several other agencies. The committee stressed the confusion, conflicts and over-

lapping as to present responsibilities for the state's public land and timber resources and urged that there should be a single forest and land management agency. It would be headed by a bipartisan board of seven members, with varying qualifications, appointed by the governor, with Senate confirmation, for six-year overlapping terms. They would employ a director of high professional qualifications.

A revised version of the natural resources proposal passed the Senate but did not come to a vote in the House.

Pending Projects

The study of the collection of state taxes involves an investigation of the merits of further consolidation of tax collection agencies, in the interest of economy, efficiency and decreased inconvenience to taxpayers. A subcommittee of 20 was set up, including nine persons not members of the parent committee, who have had tax experience. The merits of particular taxes are not involved.

The study as to the Public Service Commission is an investigation of the merits of election as opposed to appointment of its members.

Missouri to Vote on Annual Legislative Sessions

The Missouri legislature, which adjourned on May 31, approved for submission to the people a proposed constitutional amendment providing for annual sessions.

Campaign Abuses Aired in Newspaper Series

In six articles published in the *Milwaukee Journal*, Paul M. McMahon of that paper's staff reports in detail about abuses in political campaigns and elections, especially as to funds and expenditures. The series is entitled "The Laws They Laugh At" and the six articles are

headed, "Corrupt Practices Laws Are Easy to Get Around," "Legislature Dropped Bars on Big Spending," "Experts Are Stumped on Campaign Spending," "Party Chieftains Aware of Campaign Violations," "Nomination Papers Get Roughshod Treatment," and "Texas Measure Trying to Curb Election Abuses."

The series dealt primarily with Wisconsin but the final article discussed the problem in other states. It concludes on the note that the widest possible publicity of sources and uses of election funds, prior to the election, is a more hopeful answer than a statute—quoting William Frederick, research director of the Council of State Governments, and John E. Bebout, assistant director of the National Municipal League, to that effect.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

AIKEN, SOUTH CAROLINA, (1950 population 11,152) voted 415 to 198 on May 23 to adopt the council-manager plan.

The city council of GRINNELL, IOWA, (1950 population 6,828) on June 6 adopted an ordinance establishing the office of city manager, who is given authority over practically all departments except police.

The city council of CARLSBAD, CALIFORNIA, (4,383) on May 17 adopted an ordinance establishing the office of city manager, and a prior tentative appointment thereto was confirmed. Carlsbad is the fifth city in San Diego County to adopt the council-manager plan.

The council of BELVEDERE, CALIFORNIA, (800) has adopted a council-manager ordinance and appointed a city manager, who will also act as city clerk.

At a recent town meeting in ANDOVER, MASSACHUSETTS, a committee was established to study the advisability of adopting the manager plan.

He Aided at Birth of Manager Plan

Mayor William A. Grubert, 85, of Staunton, Virginia, is reported to be the only living man who participated in establishing the first office of city manager, on January 13, 1908, in Staunton. This was shortly before the true council-manager plan was evolved. Mr. Grubert was president of the board of aldermen from 1906 to 1908. He has been a member of the city council since 1932 and mayor since 1943.

IN BARRE, MASSACHUSETTS, a committee of five has been designated to study the manager plan for possible adoption by the town.

NORTH KINGSTOWN, RHODE ISLAND, which adopted a council-manager charter at the November election (REVIEW, December 1954, page 583), elected its council under the plan on April 12.

IN BLOOMFIELD, CONNECTICUT, the council-manager charter adopted in 1945 will be the subject of review by a seven-man charter study committee appointed by the town council. The Connecticut Public Expenditure Council recently made an analysis of the Bloomfield charter and suggested ways of strengthening it.

Four out of six candidates for mayor of ALLENTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA, favored the council-manager plan for that city, and another believed that all third-class cities, including Allentown, should have the right to decide that question locally.

WELLSBURG, WEST VIRGINIA, on June 14 defeated a council-manager proposal 1,494 to 432.

According to Professor Paul D. Stewart, of Marshall College, Huntington, West Virginia, the home rule bills referred to at page 259 of the May REVIEW

are amendments to WEST VIRGINIA's optional home rule law; one eliminates the present \$8,000 restriction on city managers' salaries, the other permits cities to retain existing sales tax privileges when becoming home rule cities. The bills, which are now law, are stated to have been prepared by the Huntington League of Women Voters to remove two major obstacles to adoption of the council-manager plan.

TRENTON, MICHIGAN, on June 13 defeated by one vote a proposed council-manager type of charter. It provided for a village administrator, who would appoint and could dismiss all department heads, subject, however, to confirmation by the city council.

LANSING, ILLINOIS, rejected a council-manager charter June 18, 1,880 to 1,187.

The people of MORRISTOWN, TENNESSEE, will vote July 27 on a legislative act setting up the council-manager plan for that city.

CLINTON, IOWA, by a vote of 3,611 to 2,463 on May 21, defeated a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan.

The city council of FORT PIERRE, SOUTH DAKOTA, on May 2, at its first meeting after the spring election, voted to employ a city manager, on a temporary basis, more particularly to oversee the construction and maintenance of expanding water and power installations. It was reported in the *Fort Pierre Times* that all present city employees will work under the manager.

CHICKASHA, OKLAHOMA, voted 2,257 to 1,320 on May 17 to retain the council-manager plan, which went into effect in 1946.

A charter revision committee has been appointed in WACO, TEXAS, to make a study and recommendations to strengthen and simplify the charter and increase the opportunities for efficient administration by the present council-manager government. This move was suggested by the League of Women Voters after a charter study, and agreed to by the city council.

In PROVO, UTAH, the charter commission has drafted a council-manager charter which will be voted on at an election on August 2.

At an election on May 10 in TACOMA, WASHINGTON, a board of fifteen freeholders was chosen to draft a new charter; thirteen of the fifteen are reported to be opposed to the present council-manager plan. The vote in favor of framing a new charter was 17,910 to 16,321. When drafted the charter will be submitted to popular vote. The Citizens Charter Committee has pledged a vigorous campaign to keep the present charter.

Voters of WATSONVILLE, CALIFORNIA, defeated a proposed council-manager charter 1,834 to 1,682, on May 9.

In MILLBRAE, CALIFORNIA, a citizens committee has been appointed by the city council to study the possible need for a city administrator.

The International City Managers' Association reports five recent state or regional meetings of managers: 26 city and county managers from Georgia and South Carolina met in Athens, Georgia, April 20-22, for the Fourth Municipal Management Institute; the Eighth Annual City Managers' School sponsored by managers in Kansas and Missouri and by the Government Research Center of the University of Kansas was held in Lawrence, Kansas, April 27-29, with 41 managers attending from seven states; 22 Ohio managers held their First Management Institute at Ohio State University, in Columbus, April 28-29; 21 out of 52 Oklahoma managers met in Muskogee May 12-13; 68 of 105 Texas managers held their spring meeting in Lubbock, May 8-10.

Cincinnati's Employee Safety Program Brings Large Saving

Cincinnati's in-service training and safety program for employees, conducted by the department of personnel, is paying big dividends in savings through ex-

ceptionally low premiums rendered to the State Industrial Commission for workmen's compensation. The premium rate for 1955 is 66.5 cents to \$100 of payroll, compared with a base rate (average) of \$1.86.

On the basis of a payroll of \$23,993,946 it will cost Cincinnati \$159,559 this year for this insurance against accidents; but if the city paid at the average rate its total premium would be nearly three times as great.

N. Y. Deputy Mayor Reports on Juvenile Delinquency

The office of Deputy Mayor Henry Epstein of New York City has just issued a report on the coordination of new and improved programs to cope with the problem of juvenile delinquency in that city. The report is predicated on the principle that services to delinquent and pre-delinquent youth have crucial implications for the future of the metropolis.

In addition to a survey of both the problems and the achievements of the municipality in this field, the report offers a number of recommendations. The expansion of existing services is urged in most instances and increasing public concern for the functions of the youth board are foreseen. The enhancement of police services affecting juvenile delinquency is suggested.

Among the newer recommendations is the expansion of the remedial reading program in the public schools for the large number of children who appear to

have reading deficiencies. The building of parent education groups is urged, as is the creation of a small top-calibre unit to do over-all planning for the city and to assess programs. A note in the report indicates that the city administration is counting heavily on citizen initiative as a supplement to the programs projected by the city itself.

W.F.L.

Committee on Urban Problems Created in Oregon

The Oregon legislature has adopted a resolution creating a joint interim committee on local government and urban area problems. It is directed "to ascertain, study and analyze all facts relating to governmental relations between cities, counties and districts as these relationships have been affected and made more difficult and complex by reason of the great growth in population of Oregon and particularly the growth in population and development in the unincorporated urban areas of the counties."

It is authorized to employ a staff and retain experts, and is to report its findings and recommendations to the governor and the next legislature. It is made up of two senators appointed by the Senate president, three representatives appointed by the House speaker, the state sanitary engineer, and three citizens, including a representative of the League of Oregon Cities and a representative of county governments, appointed by the governor. An appropriation of not more than \$50,000 is specified.

County and Township*Edited by Victor Jones
and William N. Cassella, Jr.*

Dade County Home Rule Bill Approved

Metropolitan Amendment Submitted to State Vote

FINAL approval was given June 2 by the Florida legislature to a proposed constitutional amendment authorizing Dade County to adopt a home rule charter for a metropolitan government. Also approved was a bill creating a charter commission to draft the new metropolitan county charter. The amendment must be approved by the voters of the entire state at the November 1956 general election. At the same time the electors of Dade County will vote on the charter which becomes effective only if the amendment is adopted.

This legislative action follows generally the recommendations of the Metropolitan Miami Municipal Board, which earlier this year proposed a plan of metropolitan government. The proposal was based upon a survey conducted by Public Administration Service for the University of Miami Committee on Municipal Research, which served as the research arm of the three-member board.¹ The plan which has been proposed would retain the individual municipalities within the county as jurisdictions providing distinctly local functions and would assign to the metropolitan government functions which can best be performed on a county-wide basis. This arrangement has been characterized as a metropolitan federation.

Under the terms of the amendment, the charter:

"May grant full power and authority

¹See "Miami Area-wide Setup Proposed," the REVIEW, April 1955, page 206.

to the board of county commissioners of Dade County to pass ordinances relating to the affairs, property and government of Dade County and provide suitable penalties for the violation thereof; to levy and collect such taxes as may be authorized by general law and no other taxes and to do everything necessary to carry on a central metropolitan government in Dade County.

"May change the boundaries of, merge, consolidate and abolish, and may provide a method for changing the boundaries of, merging, consolidating and abolishing from time to time all municipal corporations, county or district governments, special taxing districts, authorities, boards or other governmental units whose jurisdiction lies wholly within Dade County, whether such governmental units are created by the constitution or the legislature or otherwise, except the Dade County board of county commissioners as it may be provided for from time to time by this home rule charter and the board of public instruction of Dade County.

"May provide a method by which any and all of the functions or powers of any municipal corporation or other governmental unit in Dade County may be transferred to the board of county commissioners of Dade County.

"May provide a method for establishing new municipal corporations, special taxing districts and other governmental units in Dade County from time to time and provide for their government and prescribe their jurisdiction and powers."

Also, the charter may abolish, consolidate or transfer the functions of county offices provided by the constitution or by legislation except the county superintendent of public instruction and judicial officers.

The form of government will be pre-

scribed by the charter. However, the board of county commissioners is specified as the governing body of the metropolitan county. The charter "shall fix the boundaries of each county commission district, provide a method for changing them from time to time, and fix the number, terms and compensation of the commissioners and their method of election."

The amendment declares that the charter "shall provide a method by which each municipal corporation in Dade County shall have the power to make, amend or repeal its own charter. Upon adoption of this home rule charter by the electors this method shall be exclusive and the legislature shall have no power to amend or repeal the charter of any municipal corporation in Dade County."

It is also provided that: "Nothing in this section shall limit or restrict the power of the legislature to enact general laws which shall relate to Dade County and any other one or more counties in the state of Florida or to any municipality in Dade County and any other one or more municipalities of the state of Florida, and the home rule charter provided for herein shall not conflict with any provision of this constitution nor of any applicable general laws."

Pennsylvania County Seeks Tools for Local Planning

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is reprinted from *Citizens' Business*, published by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research and Pennsylvania Economy League (Eastern Division), for May 23, 1955.

Suburban expansion, dramatized by the U.S. Steel plant, Fairless Hills and Levittown, is spreading rapidly in Bucks County [Pennsylvania]. Wholesale urbanization in Lower Bucks and more dispersed suburban growth elsewhere in the county is alerting local governments in the area to step up their planning, zoning, building and other regulatory activities.

Within the next 15 to 25 years, county planners expect another doubling of Lower Bucks' population. Growth in other sections of the county may proceed at a comparable rate, particularly if adequate water and less expensive methods of sewage disposal are made available.

In 1951, anticipating impending expansion, the county commissioners created the Bucks County planning commission. Through its planning studies, subdivision review and other activities, the commission has been playing an increasingly significant role in bringing about better community development, often at less public and private costs than would otherwise have resulted.

Since adopting land subdivision regulations early in 1952, the commission has approved plans for 258 new subdivisions (comprising 26,403 lots) to assure adequate lot sizes, proper street design and improvements, and harmonious layout with respect to the existing and expected development of adjoining areas. Another major activity has been the publication of the *Lower Bucks County Regional Plan*, prepared with assistance from the State Planning Board.¹

Half of Bucks County's 54 municipalities are zoned and about one-third, mostly in Lower Bucks, have planning commissions (seven boroughs and nine townships) and building regulations.

Guided by county planning, a municipality's comprehensive plan for land use, highways, schools, recreation areas, water, sewer and other public facilities can serve as a basis for zoning, highway setback lines and other measures which coordinate private activities in accordance with community objectives.

¹This plan deals mainly with physical development, but the last part (released September 1954) is a report on local government, which recommends the establishment of a Lower Bucks committee or agency to develop the factual base and explore the possibilities for greater governmental cooperation and coordination.

New Metropolitan Areas

Four new standard metropolitan areas have been designated by the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of the Budget since the 1950 census was announced. This brings the number to 172.

Dubuque, Iowa, (Dubuque County) and Hampton-Newport News-Warwick, Virginia, have been included on the basis of revised tabulations of the 1950 census.

Fort Smith, Arkansas, (Sebastian County) and Tucson, Arizona, (Pima County) have been designated as standard metropolitan areas following recent special censuses. Two other SMA's have been extended to include additional areas. Bossier Parish has been added to the Shreveport, Louisiana, standard metropolitan area. Riverside County has been included in what is now designated as the San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario, California, area.

Based on wise planning, such regulations protect property values, prevent costly or irreparable mistakes and guard against unnecessarily high taxes in future years. For example, in areas marked for public sewerage, the builder may either install sewers as the construction proceeds or, if septic tanks are used initially, design waste lines for later connection to public sewers, thus saving the householder up to a thousand dollars.

Although some municipalities engage consulting firms, many municipal planning commissions in Bucks County look to the county planning commission for expert planning services on a cost-sharing basis.

Some municipalities, particularly those with township or borough managers, may advantageously use present full-time or special part-time employees for drafting, statistical and clerical work under periodic direction of county planning staff or private consultants.

It has been suggested that an association of Bucks County planning and zoning officials—holding occasional meetings for exchange of views and for special talks by qualified experts—would stimulate more effective planning.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—For further information on Lower Bucks County see *Accelerated Urban Growth in a Metropolitan Fringe Area*. (Two volumes.) The Institute for Urban Studies, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1954.

All Kentucky Counties Have Health Departments

The Kentucky Municipal League reports that "on July 1 Kentucky will have a health department in every county." The creation of such a department in Woodford County "marks the successful conclusion to a course of action begun in January 1908, when the establishment of the Jefferson County Health Department meant that Kentucky was the first state to have a full-time county health unit. Nine years later Mason County became Kentucky's second county health department, and after that health units were added more quickly. By the end of 1929, 43 more counties had health departments; in 1939 there was a total of 86; July of 1954 saw the 119th added to the list and now 1955 will find Kentucky with full-time health department in every one of its 120 counties."

Virginia County Turns Down Manager Plan

James City County, Virginia, rejected the county manager plan in a May 24 referendum by a vote of 185 for and 515 against.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Minor Parties Lose
in SicilyLocal Assembly Chosen
by List System of P. R.

THE REAL losers of the Sicilian Assembly elections were the minor parties," reported the *New York Times* on June 7 after pointing out that, although the leading Christian Democrats had made gains in the regional election on June 5, the Communist opposition had managed to maintain the same proportion of votes it obtained in the 1951 election.

A party list form of P.R. was used. The Christian Democrats obtained 38.6 per cent of the 2,322,616 votes and 37 of the 90 places in the regional parliament. They are expected to lead a governing coalition. The Communists and their Left-wing Socialist allies had 30.5 per cent of the votes and won 30 places—a third being won by the Left Socialists. The returns as reported in the *Times* are shown in the accompanying table, with changes from the 1951 results shown in parentheses.

Rhineland-Palatinate
Holds State Elections

A poll of 46.8 per cent of the one and a half million votes cast in the state legislature election in May sufficed to win 51 of the 100 seats in the Rhineland-Palatinate local parliament for the Christian Democratic party. As this represented a gain of eight places in a hard-fought election, it was regarded as a notable victory for West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, national leader of the winning party.

The Socialists, who conducted a spirited campaign against the Christian Democrats, largely on the nationalistic issue of the future of the Saar region, which was taken from Germany in the last two wars, won 36 seats, a loss of two.

The Free Democrats, who had been allied with the Christian Democrats in the previous state government, won only thirteen seats, a loss of six. Six minor parties, including the Communists, obtained no representation. A modified form of P.R., like that used in West German federal elections, was used. Some members are elected by single-member districts and the final distribution of rep-

SICILIAN REGIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION

JUNE 5, 1955

Party	Votes Cast	Percentage of Votes	Seats Won	Percentage of Seats
Christian Democratic	895,318	38.6 (+7.4)	37 (+7)	41.1
Communist and Left Socialist	707,919	30.5 (+0.3)	30 —	33.3
Monarchist	238,975	10.3 (+2.0)	8 —	9.0
M.S.I. (neo-fascist)	222,664	9.6 (-3.2)	9 (-2)	10.0
Liberal	91,730	3.9 (-2.2)	3 (-2)	3.3
Republican and Right Socialists	72,365	3.1 (-2.9)	2 (-2)	2.2
Independent Monarchs	56,116	2.4 (+2.4)	1 (+1)	1.1
Others	37,529	1.6 (-3.8)	— (-2)	—

representatives to parties adjusts the totals to proportionality as nearly as the seats available on this second distribution will permit after disqualifying parties which polled less than a required minimum vote.

German P. R. System Described by Dr. Pollock

A 23-page article with fifteen tables on the subject of the West German electoral law of 1953, by Professor James K. Pollock of the University of Michigan, appeared in the March 1955 *American Political Science Review*. Professor Pollock was able to present considerable information on German voting habits for, although the elections were by secret ballot, local officials in some German districts arranged for recording the voter's sex and age-group on the ballot.

The article points out the importance of the regulations in the electoral law concerning nominations, requiring conventions or other representative nomination methods, and ascribes to this feature a part of the success of the German system in having a large proportion of the voters support one or another of a few large parties. "Nominating provisions of this sort," he states, "are at least as important as the electoral system itself in avoiding the excessive splintering of parties."

There is a full-page illustration of a German ballot, showing the two selections to be made, one for a district candidate and one for a party list.¹ Professor Pollock notes that there was no significant difference in the number of invalid ballots cast respectively in the district and P.R. portions of the election. He also notes that a considerable number of district candidates were elect-

ed with less than a majority of the votes, but that this had little effect on the over-all results because distortions resulting in the district half of the election were largely counteracted by using P.R. for the distribution of the remaining half of the seats, taking account of seats already obtained on a district basis when making the P.R. count. He makes a similar observation on the effect of disproportionate size of districts in terms of population.

CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 341)

A. Vieg, Pomona College—"Let Our Governors Govern!"

Robert Hintz, principal planner, Seattle, and P. N. Royal, principal engineer, Seattle—"Looking Toward Tomorrow."

J. E. Brown, deputy minister of municipal affairs, Province of British Columbia, and Ewen C. Dingwall, executive director, Washington State Research Council—"Bulwark of Local Government."

Francis A. Staten, City Club of Portland—"Civic Victories and Defeats." R. F. Foeller, director, Toledo-Lucas County Plan Commission—"Area-Wide Planning."

Russell J. Cooney, city manager, Merced, California, Benjamin G. Kline, executive assistant, chief administrative officer, San Francisco, Ross Miller, city manager, Modesto, California, and H. D. Weller, city manager, Lodi, California—"Management in Local Government."

Milo Ryan, University of Washington—"The Names on the Ballot"; Alexander L. Crosby, pamphleteer, Karl Detzer, roving editor, *The Reader's Digest*, Paul A. Wagner, Film Council of America, and Robert B. Hudson, Educational Television and Radio Center—"Telling the Civic Story."

¹For a description of the German system, see the REVIEW, October 1949, page 460.

Citizen Action*Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Bay State Group Seeks Home Rule

Laws, Constitutional Changes on Program

WITH the election of temporary officers and adoption of by-laws, the Home Rule Association of Massachusetts, meeting in Worcester May 26, organized for action. The meeting followed a preliminary session held in the same city on February 26.¹

The organization has as its ultimate objective the amending of the state constitution so that cities and towns will have more freedom to legislate for their own needs, without requiring permissive legislation from the state.

The new by-laws, according to a report in the *Worcester Daily Telegram* of May 26, enumerate five "rights" which the organization will seek to obtain for cities and towns:

To draft and adopt a charter of local government,

To determine the conditions of work, rates of wages, tenure and terms of retirement of their own employees,

To regulate the use and development of privately and municipally owned land,

To manage the local fiscal affairs and to provide for the conduct, safety and health of their inhabitants,

To perform these and other functions where necessary jointly with other cities and towns.

The by-laws specify, however, that objectives of the association are not confined to those five "rights." They spell out six objectives in somewhat broader terms:

To study the problem and discover the areas in which home rule should be affirmed,

To acquaint the general public with the present lack of home rule and the dangers inherent in such a situation,

To recommend specific legislation and constitutional amendments,

To mobilize popular support for such action,

To mobilize popular opposition to acts of the legislature which violate the principle of home rule,

To act as a clearing house for both information and single or group action aimed at fostering home rule.

The by-laws were accepted with the proviso that a special committee to study possible amendments be appointed by the president. The committee is scheduled to report at the association's next meeting.

Francis A. Harrington of Worcester, member of the Council of the National Municipal League and a former president of the Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester, was elected president pro tem. Other temporary officers—a regular election will be held in the fall—include Donald Spencer, former president of the Cambridge Civic Association, vice president; Mrs. Milton H. Anderson, president of the League of Women Voters of Arlington, secretary; and Mrs. Clara M. Lagace of Gloucester, treasurer.

Speaking of the need for such an organization as the Home Rule Association, Spencer said that the cities and towns of the state are "creatures of the legislature and exist only at the pleasure of the legislature."

The present city and town relationship with the state, he said, was evolved in the early days of the state's history and was compatible at the time. But it's outdated. He continued:

"It's as modern as the ox cart and pony express supplying our supermarkets."

By-laws specify that membership in the organization be open to "any citizen of

¹See the REVIEW, April 1955, page 218.

Massachusetts who subscribes to the general purpose of the association," such membership, however, being subject to the approval of the board of directors. It is hoped in time to have 4,500 members.

Speaking editorially on May 27, the *Worcester Gazette* commented:

"The association is proposing no less than a revolution in the legislature's thinking. If it succeeds, local government will be markedly strengthened in Massachusetts. What's more, the legislature will be able to concentrate all its attention on the many state problems that need an answer. The public can't lose."

LWV Studies Constitution

The League of Women Voters of Montana, newly organized, has selected "The Study of the Montana State Constitution" as its first state topic. Emphasis will be placed, says Miss Betty S. Scott of Great Falls, on (a) the relationships of state and local government; (b) the amending process.

Summer, Fall Program

The board of directors and officers of the Citizens' Committee for Greater Indianapolis have laid plans for a revised membership drive with recommendations for widening the membership scope. A membership committee has been formed to contact key persons in Indianapolis as sponsors. The committee's report was expected to be available late in June.

Five separate committees to study and report on the following subjects were approved: Indianapolis police department; home rule for Indiana cities, specifically for Indianapolis; improved personnel administration for the city; city-county planning commission; streets and traffic.

Chillicothe Constitution

The objective of the Citizens Municipal League of Chillicothe, as stated in its constitution recently published, is "sound municipal government, responsive to citi-

zens' needs and obtained by education of the citizenry."

Citizenship Conference

The tenth anniversary of the National Conference on Citizenship will be held at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., September 19-21. Its theme is "The Blessings of Liberty." The conference brings together a comprehensive cross-section of citizen organizations and agencies. Over a thousand delegates representing hundreds of groups take part. Schools, colleges and universities participate also.

The conference now operates under a federal charter granted in 1953 by Congress. From 1946 to 1954 it was sponsored by the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association. Further information may be obtained from headquarters, P. O. Box 6142, Washington, D. C.

'Brentwood Story'

This is the title of a small book of 70 pages describing the government of the borough of Brentwood, Pennsylvania, (near Pittsburgh). The book was compiled, written and published by the senior problems of democracy classes of the Brentwood High School under the guidance of Elizabeth B. Jenkins and with the approval of the school administration. It was part of a study project, "Our Town Is Our Classroom." Covered also are school officials and finance, statistics on pupils and parents, as well as state and national officials.

That Annual Meeting

Your Annual Meeting—How to Make the Most of It describes "the purposes, plan and program of health, welfare and civic organization annual meetings, with tested methods of preparation and presentation." Written by Dr. Bernard Carp, the volume of 168 pages may be secured from the National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, at \$3.50.

Researcher's Digest*Edited by William F. Larsen*

Area-wide Study Groups Report

Seattle, Toledo Continue Metropolitan Research

METROPOLITAN study groups in Seattle and Toledo report important activities during the past year. The Seattle studies being made by the Metropolitan Problems Committee of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County were begun early in 1954. The Toledo Area Study Committee was established in February 1954 as an outgrowth of joint action by the Toledo city council and the Lucas County commissioners, following a proposal by the Toledo Municipal League that a comprehensive study be made of the problems of metropolitan Toledo.¹

The Seattle committee has published the first of a series of reports, *Metropolitan Seattle—The Shape We're In!* Its general conclusion is: "The city of Seattle and its surrounding area is rapidly becoming a single metropolitan community. The area is physically, socially and economically integrated. The committee recommends that a more unified government be established for this metropolitan area."

It is emphasized that "while the league recommends greater governmental integration within the metropolitan area, no attempt has been made to develop this conclusion into a detailed plan of governmental changes. *A great deal of further study is needed* and will be carried on by the . . . committee."

The committee was organized into sub-

committees or task forces to study particular governmental functions in the area. "In their work these subcommittees interviewed public officials and experts. The full committee assembled materials obtained by the 'task forces' and also explored what other cities are doing in the field of metropolitan problems. . . . The report prepared as a result of this study is an exposition of the problems and a statement of recommendations for further study. It does not purport to prescribe a quick cure for all ills nor to present a set of final conclusions." Recommendations and comments are included on police and fire protection, sewer and water service, schools, parks, parkways and cultural centers, roads and streets, mass transportation, planning, tax assessing and collection, and health.

The next report in the series on metropolitan Seattle will be a joint venture of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County and the Bureau of Governmental Research and Service of the University of Washington. This report will be published in about a year and will present a plan for governmental changes needed to meet metropolitan problems.

The creation of the Toledo Area Study Committee was accompanied by another important official action by the jurisdictions concerned. Early in 1954 a year-long moratorium on annexations and incorporations was agreed upon "in order to provide an atmosphere of cooperation for the common study of problems of mutual concern." In the TASC progress report to the city council, county commissioners and the county and city school boards in March 1955, three major accomplishments are reported:

"1. It has shown public officials (city, county, township and school) that they are all working toward the same end: the ultimate desirable development of the Toledo urban area. It has started to

¹See "Metropolitan Study Started in Toledo," the REVIEW, May 1954, page 261, and "Local Groups Study Metropolitan Seattle," the REVIEW, June 1954, page 312.

break down the barriers of unfamiliarity and mistrust which have existed, replacing them with an attitude of cooperation. TASC has led the way in getting public officials of various jurisdictions to sit down together—to discuss mutual problems and search for common solutions.

"2. After extensive discussions and hearings, TASC has developed an agreement which would govern annexation and incorporation matters, to replace the moratorium. . . . Under this agreement, the city would agree to limit its annexations so that they would not financially handicap the townships and township school districts. In return, the townships would agree to a moratorium on incorporations. This agreement has not yet been adopted by all parties concerned." Some modifications may be necessary but "there is reason to believe that an agreement acceptable to all parties will be developed and adopted in the near future.

"3. . . . The submission of resolutions in the General Assembly which would create two statewide survey commissions—one to study township government and the other to study governmental problems in the metropolitan areas. These were prepared and recommended by TASC after it was found that many of the problems facing the local area were similar to those faced in other areas, and that many changes were needed in state laws to permit adequate solutions."

Subcommittees of TASC have studied various special matters including organization and legislation, schools, utilities and transportation, urban services, planning and zoning, health and welfare. TASC reports that its studies to date indicate a number of areas to which further attention should be directed. Among these are municipal consolidation, school consolidation, a regional water-sewer district, merger of city and county health activities, metropolitan district for civil disaster and defense, allocation of func-

tions and revenues among the subdivisions of the area.

W.N.C., Jr.

Research Council Plans Tax and County Projects

A thorough analysis of the state's tax structure will be one of the major projects undertaken by the Washington State Research Council during the next two years.

The research project will be conducted in full cooperation with interim legislative committees, the state tax commission and other groups interested and concerned with problems of taxation.

Announcement of the tax study followed a legislative session which was marked by a dozen or more major changes in the state's tax structure. The research council already has expressed criticism of inadequate budget information and fiscal controls in the state government, problems which also will receive major attention from the group during coming months.

Another project of the Washington council, in cooperation with the Washington State Association of County Commissioners, is a broad, detailed examination of the fiscal affairs of county governments throughout the state. Committees named by the two organizations have met to map plans and to outline the types of information to be gathered by the professional staff.

The county commissioners' organization is compiling data on budgetary and tax operations of the counties. The Research Council has begun analysis of the workings of the state's hundreds of "junior" taxing districts. The latter provide specialized governmental services, such as library, fire protection, flood control and many others, but operate largely independent of county or any other "parent" government.

County by County Research Proposed in Washington

What is believed to be a realistic answer to the problem of getting governmental research done at each county level, in order that local civic groups can work effectively with local officials, has been suggested in the counties of Washington by the Washington State Research Council.

The council is prepared to supply professional staff work under the supervision of local committees on what would be a part-time basis. One trained person, supplied by the research council in a centrally-located office, could serve several neighboring county groups, thereby supplying the staff work necessary to maintain permanent active programs.

Each county organization would be independent, forming its own policies and directing its own affairs. This would replace the temporary volunteer committees which have often functioned for brief periods and then languished. The research council, with major offices in Seattle and Olympia, would be in a position to supply professional staff on a regional basis at minimum cost.

Public Administration Students of NYU Report

The annual Field Research Project of the students of the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration has been completed for 1955. This year the subject of the report is *The Community Planning Boards of New York City*.

The report is an examination of the role in municipal affairs of the unique Community Planning Boards set up in New York to assist and advise the borough presidents on local area and neighborhood problems. Account is made of the use and disuse of the boards, their differing roles, their effectiveness in influencing public policy and the place

which they ought to occupy in the government of the nation's largest city.

Portland City Club Studies Election Laws

The City Club of Portland, Oregon, has published the report of its committee which studied the Oregon corrupt practices act with a view to clarifying the matter of campaign contributions. In its *Bulletin* of February 25, 1955, the club presents a detailed analysis with recommendations.

In keeping with the current trend, the report suggests that there be no dollar limits established on total expenditures for any campaign. It does suggest certain limits which individuals and committees supporting a candidate should observe.

The principal emphasis, however, is on identifying the source and nature of campaign contributions and the keeping of simple but clear records for each candidate. An agent appointed by each candidate must administer and account publicly for all campaign contributions and expenditures. Violations of the suggested code would result in disqualification from office or more severe penalties.

Western GRA Publishes Conference Record

The official record of the Western Governmental Research Association's fourteenth annual conference, held at Oakland, California, in the fall of 1954, has been published. The panel sessions and speeches have been summarized.

The titles of the sessions are a clue to the scope of the meetings. Included were panels and talks on water development in the west, criminal rehabilitation, public transit, suburban problems, air pollution, civil defense, school finance, training administrators, intergovernmental relations and tax inequities.

Hints for Better Cities Given by Tennessee Service

A hatful of suggestions on new methods, new products and new solutions to everyday problems can be found in a recent publication of the University of Tennessee's Municipal Technical Advisory Service. Entitled *Ideas for a Better City*, the booklet is brimming with material gleaned from diverse sources.

Ideas are included on traffic, parking, finance, water, personnel, public relations and a host of other topics. Did you know that three-wheel motorcycles can do wonders? Have you tried reflective tape for bicycle marking? Civic officials everywhere can profit from this interesting list of suggestions.

Annual Reports Trace Canadian Progress

Two recent reports from Canada indicate the progress of governmental research in that quarter. The Bureau of Municipal Research in Toronto has issued its *Forty-first Annual Report* and its companion agency, the Citizens Research Institute of Canada, both under the executive direction of Eric Hardy, has put forth its *Thirty-fifth Yearbook*.

Information is contained on the work of the agencies and on the growth of government and public responsibility in Canada. Toronto has become one of the world's great metropolitan areas and has problems accordingly. The report details

the bureau's efforts in that area. An important summary of general public finance in Canada is offered in the *Yearbook*.

GRA Regional Meeting

A regional meeting of the Governmental Research Association was held in Philadelphia, May 21, 1955. The morning session was devoted to an examination of how and whether patronage and merit systems can be integrated. In the afternoon attention was focused on the financing of public education. Participants included Leslie M. Gravlin, director of the Hartford (Connecticut) Governmental Research Institute; James W. McGrew, director of the Department of Governmental Research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce; Henry Toy, Jr., director of the National Commission for the Public Schools; and James R. Watson, executive director of the National Civil Service League.

Strictly Personal

A special one-and-a-half day conference on the theme of Perspectives in the Public Service was held May 20-21 at the University of California in Berkeley in honor of Professor Samuel C. May, who is completing 33 years of distinguished service as professor of political science and is director of the Bureau of Public Administration. Attended by many prominent persons, the conference sought to recognize the important contribution of Professor May to the study of government in the state and nation.

Books in Review

The Metropolis

THE METROPOLIS IN MODERN LIFE. (Columbia University Bicentennial Conference Series.) Edited by Robert Moore Fisher. New York, Doubleday and Company, 1955. xiii, 401 pp. \$6.00.

The first conference in the Bicentennial Celebration of Columbia University in 1954 was on *The Metropolis in Modern Life*. Some 35 scholars and observers prepared papers or contributed to more or less formal discussions of them. Another hundred or more sat in or took incidental part.

This book is made up of somewhat abridged versions of the principal papers and of some of the commentaries. They are grouped in eight major parts—the role of the city in social development, contributions of the metropolitan community to political institutions, economic advantages and disadvantages of metropolitan concentration, the influence of the metropolis on concepts and institutions relating to property, the influence of science and technology on the metropolis, the impact of the metropolis in the professions, the impact (sic) on the spiritual life of man, and the search for the ideal city. Each part is introduced briefly by the editor.

Selection of this topic by Columbia officials is, in itself, heartening to those who feel that great cities and their problems too often are neglected—both in scholarly and so-called practical affairs. In addition, Dr. Ernest M. Fisher, conference chairman, assembled a group of varied and competent contributors. Although a few of the major papers suffered a little in being condensed, on the whole the job was skillfully done. The end result is a useful volume for background, for study and thought.

Unavoidably, of course, this book has a generic characteristic of symposia—it is uneven in quality. Most of its articles,

however, are well worth reading. The most valuable papers to me included those of Myres S. McDougal, Luther H. Gulick, William Anderson, Richard U. Ratcliff and J. V. Langmead Casserley.

Perhaps it is not too much to hope that other universities and other institutions will use these Columbia materials as the base and inspiration for pushing on to wiser and more effective policy recommendations in many of the problem areas of metropolitan life.

COLEMAN WOODBURY
South Kent, Connecticut

Federalism

FEDERALISM MATURE AND EMERGENT. (Columbia University Bicentennial Conference Series.) Edited by Arthur W. Macmahon. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, 1955. xi, 557 pp. \$7.50.

Here is a great mine of information on main currents of federalism as a political concept with many rich veins worked by some of the most thoughtful minds in the nation. This is a companion piece to a like great symposium volume, *The Metropolis in Modern Life*,¹ another of the splendid Columbia Bicentennial series. The contributors are many and the ideas diverse and fruitful for all who will pause to reflect on the complex elements of centralization and decentralization as they affect politics and the citizen at all levels.

The volume reflects a growing interest in federalism as a working concept of political organization not alone in the United States. The authors have discussed federalism in many parts of the world, have discussed the basic controls in a maturing system and have explored the functional relationships such as the decision-making and fiscal aspects of federalism. A considerable portion is de-

¹See review above.

voted to a consideration of supra-national union in Western Europe.

Such a large study is hard to categorize. But one is sure that the nature of this work leaves no doubt that it is a landmark endeavor and will continue for a long time a standard commentary and reference in this field.

W.F.L.

Handbook for Councilmen

HANDBOOK FOR COUNCILMEN IN COUNCIL-MANAGER CITIES. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1955. 48 pp. \$1.

Here it is at last! This is the official guide for city councilmen in whose hands rest so much of local public policy and indeed the lives of the professional municipal managers and a major share of the vitality of the council-manager movement. Because this slender volume has been so well executed, and hits its mark so squarely, it seems fair to borrow some of the editors' phrases in describing it.

The *Handbook* does represent the "consensus of 27 councilmen and mayors with particular emphasis on the relationships between the councilmen and the city manager. Veteran councilmen prepared the book as a guide for new councilmen and as a handy reference manual for experienced members of local governing bodies. Editing by the ICMA staff was limited to including additional ideas from the councilmen who reviewed the book."

It is the first such book ever published and is based on the premises that politics is an honest and honorable profession and that the council and the manager must work as a team for good government and efficient administration.

But this is no mere setting forth of pious phrases with exhortations to perform municipal good works and eschew evil. This book grapples with knotty issues, such as what is involved in determining municipal policy, what is meant by general supervision of administration, how to select a city manager, what to

do at and what to expect from council meetings, and duties between council meetings. It contains a checklist for councilmen and a fine selected bibliography for those who wish to check their reading of this book or their official actions with what has been written authoritatively elsewhere.

It is probably safe to say that most harassed mayors and councilmen will praise the volume while bemoaning its arrival so lately. Of course this is what the city managers will do. However, let it be known that no city manager participated in the preparation of the *Handbook*. Thus, while it bears the *nihil obstat* of the now almost legendary Clarence Ridley, for 26 years ICMA executive director, and his colleagues, it is truly of councilmen, by councilmen and for councilmen.

At the same time it will give aid and comfort to city managers themselves and it is to be expected that many of them will see to it that they get the volume into the hands of both novice and old-time councilmen. The truth is that the book informs without patronizing or suggesting inferior understanding of municipal government by councilmen. This was a pitfall to be avoided in its preparation and it does so by quickly getting to the heart of how to think, feel and act as a councilman in a city with a council-manager plan. Yet it does not offend any who hold that each honest, high-minded citizen is his own governmental expert and office holder.

The concepts and illustrative material of the book are sound and well put. It is mercifully brief and is a "Bible" on the council-manager plan without extravagant exhortation. The wonder is that we did not have such a guide long ago, but no matter. The *Handbook for Councilmen* is here and it will be widely circulated, read and practised, as it well deserves to be.

W.F.L.

Citizens at Work

THE PEOPLE ACT. By Elmore M. McKee. Foreword by Milton S. Eisenhower. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1955. xvi, 269 pp. \$3.50.

In 1951-52 the author of this book conducted a successful series of 38 nationwide radio programs under this title. Each program described concerted activity of citizens in some local scene with the important benefit of helping to turn a neighborhood into a real community.

Mr. McKee, selecting from among those programs, has investigated more deeply, visited the scenes and reported subsequent events, always with his attention on the development of teamwork and communal sense in districts where it was needed. The twelve narratives supply a depth commonly missing in such accounts. Eight of them are from small rural places and the four cities are Baltimore (housing), Arlington, Virginia, (schools), Gary, Indiana, (crime) and Seattle (inter-racial cooperation).

These well told stories of American citizenries that became self-reliant and cooperative in local emergencies are illuminated by the insight of the author.

R.S.C.

Planning Commissioner

MR. PLANNING COMMISSIONER. By Harold V. Miller. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1954. viii, 81 pp. \$1.00.

In publishing *Mr. Planning Commissioner*, by the director of the Tennessee State Planning Commission, Public Administration Service has remedied a gap in planning literature. The foreword states that this "is not a classroom textbook in planning" nor "a scholarly summary of the finest examples of official planning to date," but is "in the form of a discourse presented as it were to the newly appointed members of a recently established planning commission in a town of medium size."

Nineteen chapters cover the activities of the typical planning commission as it sets about to produce a comprehensive plan, to approve subdivisions, to recommend zoning changes, to program capital budgets—in short, to perform the traditional duties of the planning commission.

Intergovernmental Relations

A REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR TRANSMITTAL TO THE CONGRESS. By The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955. xi, 311 pp. \$1.25.

Reports of study committees, listed below, have also just been published by the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and are available from the Superintendent of Documents:

Study Committee Report on Federal Aid to Agriculture,

Study Committee Report on Federal Aid to Highways,

Study Committee Report on Federal Aid to Public Health,

Study Committee Report on Federal Aid to Welfare,

Study Committee Report on Federal Responsibilities in the Field of Education,

Study Committee Report on Unemployment Compensation and Employment Service,

Study Committee Report on Natural Resources and Conservation,

Study Committee Report on Payments in Lieu of Taxes and Shared Revenues,

Subcommittee Report on Natural Disaster Relief,

An Advisory Committee Report on Local Government,

A Staff Report on Civil Defense and Urban Vulnerability,

A Staff Report on Federal Aid to Airports,

A Description of 25 Federal Grant-in-Aid Programs,

Summaries of Survey Reports on the Administrative and Fiscal Impact on Federal Grants in Aid,

A Survey Report on the Impact of Federal Grants in Aid on the Structure and Functions of State and Local Governments.

These volumes, all issued at the end of June, constitute a small but indispensable library on intergovernmental relations at mid-century. Of particular interest to persons concerned with the strength and vitality of state and local government are the report of the commission itself, the report of the Advisory Committee on Local Government and the report of the Subcommittee on Payments in Lieu of Taxes and Shared Revenues.

In the preface to its report the commission states emphatically that its views and recommendations are confined to that report and adds that failure "to comment upon specific recommendations in committee or other reports does not imply commission approval or disapproval of such recommendations." The fact is that a number of the reports dealing with grants in aid take positions that are quite different from those adopted by the commission. The two volumes reporting the results of studies of the impact of federal grants on state and local governments include considerable fresh testimony on various effects of the grant in aid system.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

MUNICIPAL PUBLIC WORKS COST ACCOUNTING MANUAL. By Walter O. Harris. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1955. 97 pp. Punched for loose-leaf binder, \$2.50; bound with soft cover, \$3.00.

Budgeting

PERFORMANCE BUDGETING: SELECTED REFERENCES. Washington, D. C., U.S. Bureau of the Budget Library, 1954. 7 pp.

The Community

STUDYING YOUR COMMUNITY. By Roland L. Warren. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955. xi, 385 pp. \$3.00.

Education

INFORMAL EDUCATION THROUGH LIBRARIES. Sixth Institute on Public Library Management. **INFORMAL EDUCATION THROUGH LIBRARIES.** Supplement: **THE COMPLETE PAPERS.** Madison, Wisconsin Free Library Commission, 1954 and 1955. 67 and 117 pp. respectively. \$1.50 for both.

Local Government

YOUR LOCAL GOVERNMENT. A sketch of the Municipal System in Canada. By Donald C. Rowat. Toronto, The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1955. x, 148 pp. \$2.50.

Metropolitan Areas

FINAL REPORT OF DEKALB COUNTY LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSION, Supplement by **REPORT ON THE GOVERNMENTS OF DEKALB COUNTY AND THE MUNICIPALITIES THEREIN.** By Griffenhagen and Associates. Atlanta, the Commission, 1954. 114 pp.

GENERAL AND FINAL REPORT, COMMISSION FOR THE STUDY OF THE METROPOLITAN PROBLEMS OF MONTREAL. Montreal, the Commission, 1955. 76 pp.

GREATER LEXINGTON—WHAT WILL YOU MAKE IT? Lexington, Kentucky, The Greater Lexington Committee, 1955. 223 pp.

THE SEPARATION OF HOME AND WORK IN FLINT, MICHIGAN. By Leo F. Schnore. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute for Human Adjustment, 1954. 60 pp.

Municipal Government

NEW JERSEY MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION. Papers presented at Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, New Jersey, The Institute, Department of Economics of Engineering and Industrial Engineering, in cooperation with Aluminum Company of America, 1955. 140 pp.

Neighborhoods

A PROGRAM OF RESEARCH IN URBAN RENEWAL FOR THE AMERICAN COUNCIL TO IMPROVE OUR NEIGHBORHOODS. Urban Renewal Bibliography. New York 20, American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods, 1954. 325 pp. \$5.00.

Parking

PARKING PROGRAMS. Facts about Selected Urban Parking Programs in the United States. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1954. 194 pp.

Personnel

REGULATIONS OF THE COUNTY PERSONNEL BOARD GOVERNING GENERAL EMPLOYEES, Montgomery County, Maryland. Rockville, The Board, 1954. 48 pp.

Police

THE TROUBLE WITH COPS. The Truth About Police in American Cities. How They Work, Pressures and Corruptions, Criminal Influences, Politics, Bribery, Low Pay, etc., and Some Concrete Suggestions for the Improvement of Their Conditions. By Albert Deutsch. New York, Crown Publishers, 1955. xii, 243 pp. \$3.00.

Public Administration

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. By Leonard D. White. (Fourth Edition.) New York, The MacMillan Company, 1955. xx, 531 pp. \$5.75.

LETTERS ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION from a Dean to his Graduates. By Lent D. Upson. Detroit, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, 1954. xii, 178 pp. \$1.75.

Records

THREE ASPECTS OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT. A Transcript of Remarks Made at the Seventh Annual Management Institute. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1955. 37 pp.

Salaries

HIDDEN SALARIES . . . A Study of Public Employee Pensions in Kane County, Illinois. By Robert St. Pierre. Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, 1954. 53 pp. Charts.

IOWA MUNICIPAL SALARIES 1955 IN CITIES OVER 5,000 POPULATION. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, and the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1955. 32 pp. \$1.00.

1955 MICHIGAN MUNICIPAL WAGES AND SALARIES. Hours of Work, Overtime Pay Practices, Holiday Pay Practices, Uniform Allowance Policy, Hospitalization Insurance and Group Life Insurance Practices. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1955. 130 pp. \$3.50.

A RECOMMENDED MINIMUM SALARY FOR NEW YORK CITY CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINERS AS DETERMINED BY THE APPLICATION OF BASIC JOB PRICING CRITERIA TO SALARY AND JOB EVALUATION DATA. New York 7, Association of Civil Service Examiners of the City of New York, 1955. 23 pp.

SALARIES IN WASHINGTON CITIES. By Bert Balmer. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1955. 47 pp.

State Government

THE CAPACITY OF THE STATES. A Study of the Role of the States, Past, Present and Future—in the Over-all Scheme of Government in the United States. What the states have done. What they are now doing. What they are able to do. By Fred J. Milligan. (Prepared for the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.) Columbus, Ohio Citizens Committee on Federal-State Relations, 1954. 82 pp.

KENTUCKY GOVERNMENT. By John Estill Reeves. Lexington, University of Kentucky, Bureau of Government Research, 1955. 87 pp.

Taxation and Finance

HOUSING TAXATION. By Walter A. Morton. Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1955. x, 262 pp. \$4.75.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCING IN ALBERTA Including an Appraisal of Provincial-Municipal Financial Relationships. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, 1954. 43 pp.

LOUISIANA'S FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENT. A Fiscal Survey. By Allison R. Kolb. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State Auditor, 1955. 32 pp.

THE MINNESOTA DEPARTMENT OF TAXATION. An Administrative History. By Lloyd M. Short, Clara Penniman, Floyd O. Flom. Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1955. viii, 176 pp. \$3.00.

NEW ENGLAND'S FINANCIAL RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND STATE AND LOCAL TAXATION AND EXPENDITURES IN NEW ENGLAND. Report of the Committee of New England of the National Planning Association. Boston, New England Council, 1954. 40 and 59 pp. respectively. 60 cents each.

TAX POLICIES IN UTAH. By John F. Sly and William Miller. Salt Lake City, Utah State Tax Commission, 1954. xviii, 173 pp.

UTAH STATE GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL

SUMMARY 1955-57 Biennium. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, April 1955. 4 pp.

Text Books

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. The National Government. Revised Edition. By Robert K. Carr, Marver H. Bernstein, Donald H. Morrison, Richard C. Snyder and Joseph E. McLean. New York, Rinehart and Company, 1955. xxi, 957 pp. \$6.00.

Urban Redevelopment

NEW CITY CENTERS IN EUROPE. A Report on City Rebuilding in Five West European Countries. By Leo Grebler, Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, April 1955. 5 pp. \$1.00.

NEW HEART FOR PROVIDENCE. Editorials Reprinted from *The Providence Journal* and *The Evening Bulletin*. Providence, *The Journal*, 1955. 12 pp.

Water Distribution

ORGANIZATION FOR WATER DISTRIBUTION IN THE PORTLAND AREA. A Report on the Development of Governmental and Private Organizations to Distribute Water in the Suburban Areas Adjacent to Portland, Oregon. Eugene, University of Oregon, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service in cooperation with League of Oregon Cities, 1955. 66 pp. \$1.00.

Screening committee undertakes exacting task of weighing the 137 entries in the 1955 All-America Cities Awards competition. Seated, left to right, are the committee: Charlton F. Chute, assistant director, Institute of Public Administration; Richard S. Childs, chairman, League executive committee; and Mrs. Edith P. Welty, former mayor, Yonkers, New York. Lending a hand are, standing, Allen H. Seed, Jr., assistant director of the League, and Miss Toni Avery, member of the staff.



22 Finalists Are Selected

Twenty-two finalists in the 1955 All-America Cities Awards contest, selected after long study by the Screening Committee, are preparing to state their cases before the All-America Cities jury when it sits in Seattle July 25 and 26.

The finalists are: Phenix City, Alabama; Riverside, California; Fort Collins, Colorado; Savannah, Georgia; Bloomington, Elmwood Park and Joliet, Illinois; Brownstown and Seymour, Indiana; Dubuque, Iowa; Lake Charles,

Louisiana; Medford, Massachusetts; Port Huron and Ypsilanti, Michigan; St. Paul, Minnesota; Grand Island, Nebraska; Cambridge and Sidney, Ohio; Reading, Pennsylvania; Aiken, South Carolina; El Campo, Texas; and Bellevue, Washington.

This year a record 137 communities entered the contest, many of which had chalked up impressive civic achievements through citizen action. This situation gave the screening committee a most difficult task in reducing the field to 22.

The jury will select eleven winners whose names will be announced at the end of the year.

Pforzheimers Give \$17,000 More for Building

The Carl and Lily Pforzheimer Foundation, Inc., which contributed \$33,000 toward the purchase of the Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, the League's new headquarters, has given an additional \$17,000 toward the remodeling of the structure.

This added gift is being used to meet a portion of the cost of altering, painting and furnishing the building.

Mr. Pforzheimer, active civic leader in Westchester County, where he makes

his home, and prominent broker, has served the League as treasurer for more than half its existence — 34 years.

The building was named for him to mark his devoted participation in community activities and in the affairs of the League.

Some 266 persons and organizations have made possible the League's acquisition of its own building through generous contributions to its building and remodeling funds.

Myron Law Joins League Council

Myron C. Law, who recently retired as president of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, has been elected to fill a vacancy on the Council of the National Municipal League.

Mr. Law is vice president of Frederick & Nelson, a division of Marshall Field & Company; a director of the Seattle Steam Corporation and the Association of Washington Industries; and a trustee of the Community Chest, United Good Neighbor Fund and the Municipal League of Seattle and King County.

He is at present busily engaged as vice chairman of the Arrangements Committee for the Sixty-first National Conference on Government.



Myron C. Law

Brazil to Translate League's Planning Law

The Brazilian School of Public Administration, in Rio de Janeiro, is preparing a translation into Portuguese of the League's recently published *Model State and Regional Planning Law*.

This work will be used in a course in regional planning which the institution is undertaking, according to Benedicto Silva, director of the school.

Judges in Contest

Regional Vice President Thomas R. Reid and Council Member Arthur W. Bronage are judges in an annual report contest launched by the Michigan Municipal League. Carl H. Chatters, who for many years has worked closely with the NML, is also a judge. The Michigan group plans to make the contest an annual event.

Engineers Barney Beck (left) and Al Schaeffer of Mutual Broadcasting System record the Parsippany-Troy Hills, New Jersey, show in the League's "Citizens at Work" radio series of six half-hour programs. The series told how the people of various communities solved local problems through concerted citizen action. The other five programs in the series told the stories of Fort Wayne, Indiana; Modesto, California; Owensboro, Kentucky; Pendleton, Oregon; and Pueblo, Colorado. Transcriptions of the series may be ordered from the League for \$10 each. Two-week rental fee, \$5.00.



Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1954).....	\$.20
Charts: Council-manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-council Form (17½ x 22½"), 50 cents each, set of three.....	1.00
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950).....	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1953).....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952).....	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1953).....	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1952).....	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953).....	.75
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1953).....	.75
(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.20)	

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946).....	.75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948).....	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941).....	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953).....	1.00
Model County Charter (New edition in preparation).....	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951).....	1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 23 pages (1954).....	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 40 pages (1954).....	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law (1954).....	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953).....	.75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948).....	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1954).....	.50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1954).....	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946).....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952).....	3.50
Coroners in 1953—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 90 pages, mimeographed (1954).....	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1954).....	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1952).....	.75
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1954).....	.50
The Metropolitan Problem—Current Research, Opinion, Action, by Guthrie S. Birkhead (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 12 pages (1953).....	.25
More Responsible States. Panel Discussion, National Conference on Government, Richmond, Virginia, 33 pages, mimeographed (1953).....	.50
New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1955).....	.50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951).....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940).....	.25
Save Our Cities, by Joseph E. McLean etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1954).....	.35

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Wanted: Two Books

The National Municipal League Library urgently needs the works listed below and will pay the prices indicated for them:

1. **Metropolitan Government**, by Victor Jones. University of Chicago Press, 1942, list price: \$4. Our offer: \$8.
2. **The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States**, by Paul Studenski and the National Municipal League Committee on Metropolitan Government. National Municipal League, 1930, list price: \$3.50. Our offer: \$4.50.

These books are required in several pending research projects. Your cooperation will be gratefully appreciated.

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